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Supplementary Volume.

The
Roxburghe Ballads.

Supplementary Volume.

EDITED BY F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., M.A., CAMB.

PRINTED FOR
The Ballad Society,
BY STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS,
HERTFORD.



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Sage

[When starting the Ballad Society, I gave a pledge that all Collections undertaken by it should be printed entire. Mr. Chappell wishes to exclude some of the Roxburghe Ballads from his edition of the Collection for the Society. Those that he desires so to treat from time to time I shall print in this Supplementary Volume.—F. J. FURNIVALL, 2nd April, 1873.]

HERTFORD

STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, PRINTERS.

[Roxb. Coll. I. 242, 243.]

The Maid's Comfort ;¹

Or,

The kinde young Man, who, as many haue said,
Sweet comfort did yeeld to a comfortlesse maid.

TO A PLEASANT NEW TUNE.



Downe in a Garden sits my dearest Loue,
Her skin more white then is the Downe of Swan,
More tender-hearted then the Turtle Doue, 3
And farre more kinde then is the Pellican :
I courted her ; she, blushing, rose and said,
“ Why was I borne to liue and dye a Maid ?” 6

¹ This ballad tells how a lover cured his sweetheart's complaint, “Why was I borne to live and dye a maid?” and then marries her. No other copy of it is known.

“ If that be all your griefe, my Sweet,” said I,
 “ I soone shall ease you of your care and paine,—
 Yeelding a meane to cure your miserie, 9
 That you no more shall cause have to complaine:
 Then be content, Sweeting,” to her I said;
 “ Be rul’d by me, thou shalt not dye a Maid. 12

“ A Medicine for thy griefe I can procure,
 Then wayle no more (my Sweet), in discontent;
 My loue to thee for euer shall endure, 15
 Ile giue no cause whereby thou shouldst repent
 The Match we make; for I will constant proue
 To thee, my Sweeting, and my dearest Loue. 18

“ Then sigh no more, but wipe thy watry eyes;
 Be not perplext, my Honey, at the heart:
 Thy beautie doth my heart and thoughts surprise; 21
 Then yeeld me loue, to end my burning smart:
 Shrinke not from me, my bonny Loue,” I said;
 “ For I haue vow’d, thou shalt not dye a Maid. 24

“ Pitty it were, so faire a one as you,
 Adorn’d with Natures chieftest Ornaments,
 Should languish thus in paine, I tell you true: 27
 Yeelding in loue, all danger still preuents;
 Then seeme not coy, nor, Loue, be not afraid,
 But yeeld to me: thou shalt not dye a Maid. 30

“ Yeeld me some comfort, Sweeting, I entreat,
 For I am now tormented at the heart;
 My affection’s pure, my loue to thee is great, 33
 Which makes me thus my thoughts to thee impart:
 I loue thee deare, and shall doe euermore;
 O pitty me; for loue I now implore!” 36

For her I pluckt a pretty Marigold,
 Whose leaues shut up even with the Euening Sunne,
 Saying, “ Sweet-heart, looke now, and doe behold 39
 A pretty Riddle here in ’t to be showne:
 This Leafe shut in, even like a Cloystred Nunne,
 Yet will it open when it feels the Sunne. 42

“What meane you by this Riddle, Sir?” she said;
“I pray expound it.” Then he thus began:
“Women were made for Men, and Men for Maids.” 45
With that, she chang'd her colour, and lookt wan.
“Since you this Riddle to me so well have told,
Be you my Sunne, Ile be your Marigold.” 48

The second part.

TO THE SAME TUNE.



I Gaue consent, and thereto did agree
To sport with her within that louely Bower:
I pleasèd her, and she likewise pleas'd mee— 51
Loue found such pleasures in a Golden Shower.
Our Sports being ended, then she, blushing, said,
“I have my wish, for now I am no Maid. 54
“But, Sir,” (quoth she,) “from me you must not part,
Your companie so well I doe affect;
My loue you haue, now you haue woon my heart, 57
Your louing selfe for euer I respect:
Then goe not from me, gentle Sir,” quoth shee,
“’Tis death to part, my gentle Loue, from thee. 60

- "The kindnesse you, good Sir, to me haue showne,
 Shall neuer be forgot, whiles Life remaines :
 Grant me thy loue, and I will be thine owne, 63
 Yeeld her reliefe, that now for loue complaines :
 O leaue me not, to languish in despaire,
 But stay with me, to ease my heart of care. 66
- "Your Marigold for euer I will be ;
 Be you my Sunne ; 'tis all I doe desire :
 Your heating Beames yeeld comfort unto me, 69
 My loue to you is feruent and entire—
 Let yours, good Sir, I pray be so to me,
 For I hold you my chiefe felicitie. 72
- "Content within your companie I finde,
 Yeeld me some comfort, gentle Sir, I pray,
 To ease my grieffe and my tormented minde : 75
 My loue is firme, and neuer shall decay :
 So constant still, (my Sweet,) Ile prove to you,
 Loyall in thoughts, my love shall still be true." 78
- "Content thy selfe," (quoth he,) "my onely Deare,
 In loue to thee I will remaine as pure
 As Turtle to her Mate : to thee I swear 81
 My constant loue for euer shall endure :
 Then weepe no more, sweet comfort Ile thee yeeld,
 Thy beauteous Face my heart with loue hath fill'd." 84
- Comfort she found, and straight was made a Wife ;
 It was the onely thing she did desire :
 And she enjoyes a Man loues her as life, 87
 And will doe euer, till his date expire.
 And this for truth, report hath to me told,
 He is her Sunne, and she his Marigold. 90

FINIS.

[Roxb. Coll. I. 256, 257.]

The Merry Cuckold.¹

Who frolickly taking what chance doth befall,
Is very well pleased with Wife, Hornes and all.

TO THE TUNE OF, *The Merry Cuckold.*



YOu married men, whom Fate hath assign'd,
To marry with them that are too much kind,
Learn, as I do, to beare with your wiués ;
All you that doe so, shall liue merry lives. 4

I have a Wife, so wanton and so free,
That she, as her life, loues one besides me.
What if she doe ? I care not a pin ;
Abroad I will goe, when my riual comes in. 8

¹ This shameless fellow is something like the "comper" of Chaucer's cook's "Prentys" (*Cokes Tale*, ll. 55-8). He makes the best of his bad bargain, chuckles over his own dishonour, enjoys himself with the gains from it, and advises his fellow wearers-of-horns to follow his example. No other copy of the ballad is known. Two lines of the original are printed as one here.

I can be merry, and drinke away care
 With Claret and Sherry and delicate fare.
 My Wife has a Trade that will maintain me :
 What though it be said that a Cuckold I be ! 12

While she at home is taking her pleasure,
 Abroad I do rome, consuming her treasure :
 Of all that she gets, I share a good share ;
 She payes all my debts, then for what should I care? 16

She keeps me braue and gallant in cloathing :
 All things I haue, I do want for nothing.
 Therefore I conniue and winke at her faults,
 And daily I striue against ieaalous assaults. 20

While for small gaines my neighbours worke hard,
 I liue (by her meanes), and never regard
 The troubles and cares that belong to this life ;
 I spend what few dares : gramercy, good Wife ! 24

Should I be ieaalous, as other men are,
 My breath, like to bellowes, the fire of care
 Would blow and augment ; therefore I thinke it best
 To be well content, though I were Vulcans crest. 28

Many a time vpbraided I am ;
 Some say I must dine at the Bull or the Ramme :
 Those that do ieere cannot do as I may,
 In Wine, Ale, and Beere, spend a noble a day. 32

The second part.

TO THE SAME TUNE.



I By experience, rightly do know
That no strife or variances (causes of woe,)
Can make a wife so bent, to liue chast.
Then,¹ in stead of strife, let patience be plac't. 36

If a man had all Argus his eyes,
A wife that is bad will something devise
To gull him to 's face: then what boores² mistrust,
The hornes to disgrace, though weare it I must! 40

Ile be content with this my hard chance,
And in merrymment my head Ile advance,
Wishing I were but as rich as some men,
Whose wiues chast appeare, yet they 'l kisse now and
then. 44

¹ Thou, *orig.*

² behoves, needs, is the good of. A.S. *gebyrian*, E.E. *buren*, O.N. *byrja*.

One thing¹ to me a great comfort is :
 Still quiet is she, though I do amisse.
 She dares do no other, because she knowes well,
 That gently I smoother what most men would tell. 48

If I should raue, her minde would not alter ;
 Her swing she will haue, though 't be in a halter :
 Then sith that I get good gaines by her vice,
 I will not her let, but take share of the price. 52

Why should I vexe and pine in dispaire ?
 I knowe that her sexe are all brittle ware ;
 And he that gets one who constant² abides,
 Obtaines that which none, or but few, haue besides. 56

Yet will I not accuse my wife,
 For nothing is got by railing, but strife.
 I act mine owne sence, intending no wrong :
 No Cuckold nor Queane will care for this song. 60

But a merry Wife that's honest, I know it,
 As deare as her life, will sure love the Poet ;
 And he thats no Cuckold, in Countrey or City,
 Howeuer if lucke hold, will buy this our Ditty. 64

FINIS.

Printed by the Assignes of Thomas Symcock.

¹ trying, *orig.*

² canstant, *orig.*

The Amanda Group of Bagford Poems.

. It has been deemed fit that we should give in full the text of a curious group of poems, belonging to volume third of the Bagford Collection, at the British Museum Library; poems which (not being ballads) we at first intended to omit. For persons who are inclined to bind them along with *The Bagford Ballads*, no better place could be desired than immediately following p. 468, sheet 2 r of the "First Division": to which they form an appropriate Supplement.

Or, they may be kept distinct and bound separately. They are furnished with their own special title-page, contents, and index.



The Amanda Group
OF
Bagford Poems.

(CIRCA 1668.)

From the rare Originals in the British Museum, etc.

COLLECTED AND ANNOTATED,

WITH SPECIAL WOODCUT ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY

J. WOODFALL EBSWORTH, M.A.,

EDITOR OF "THE BAGFORD BALLADS,"

AND OF "THE 'DROLLERIES' OF THE RESTORATION."

*"Andromeda, by Perseus saved and wed,
Hankered each day to see the Gorgon's head:
Till o'er a fount he held it, bade her lean,
And mirror'd in the wave was safely seen
That death she lived by.*

*Let not thine eye know
Any forbidden thing itself, although
It once should save as well as kill: but be
Its shadow upon life enough for thee."—D. G. ROSSETTI.*

HERTFORD:

Printed for the Ballad Society,

BY STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS.

1880.

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HERTFORD :

PRINTED BY STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS.

The Amanda Group of Bagford Poems.

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Margarita Emiliana bella Cortesana di Venetia.

“ I have here inserted a Picture of one of their nobler Cortezans, according to her Venetian habites, with my owne neare unto her, made in that forme as we saluted each other.”—*Crudities* of Tom Coryat, of Odecombe, Devonshire, 1608-1611.

“ Some Jay of Italy
(Whose mother was her painting) hath betraid him.”

Cymbeline, iii. 4 (Compare pp. 514, 524, 530.)



The
Amanda Group of Bagford Poems.

“To him that dares
Arm his profane tongue with contemptuous words
Against the sun-clad power of Chastity,
Fain would I something say, yet to what end?
Thou hast nor ear, nor soul to apprehend
The sublime notion and high mystery,
That must be utter'd to unfold the sage
And serious doctrine of Virginitie:
And thou art worthy that thou should'et not know
More happiness than this thy present lot.
Enjoy your dear wit, and gay rhetoric,
That hath so well been taught her dazzling fence.”—*Comus*, 1634.

§ 1.

The Lass of Lynn's Trouble, and Peril.



HE Thankful Lass of Lynn, “who often said ‘Thank you, too!’” was left in a perilous position, owing to her being too trustful and accommodating. If it had not happened that George the Tapster came in good time to save her reputation, the melodrama would have become a tragedy. Some maidens go to wrack, like Faust's Gretchen and *Des Pfarrers Tochter von Taubenhann*: soon arises the wail of a murdered infant, mingling with the sobs of a crazed girl, “a mither, yet nae wife,” and then earth receives the shattered lily that had waved in stately beauty: “the broken flower and blasted fruit of Love.” Some few swimmers escape destruction in such shipwreck. They clutch at a drifting spar, are saved from the depths, and may live to be humbly thankful and contrite: but, even with them it is “never glad confident morning again.” For others, and these the greater number, the first downward step has become the beginning of an uninterrupted descent, and the victim grows to be the temptress of many others; the deceived one lives to be the blighter of all

whom she encounters. It is the sad and terrible reality of this nameless horror, eating into the very life of the nation until our own day, which gives an interest to this truthful group of poems, here limitedly re-printed, as a record of the past, and as a warning for the present or the future.

The Editor is willing to defy misconstruction, as to his motive in giving back to the world these "shady" memorials. That he was requested to do so, might exonerate him sufficiently. But there is stronger defence. The social anatomist is justified in dealing with a morbid subject for the preservation of health. No sympathy need be felt with sickly squeamishness, or with prurient prudery. Even the general public willingly accepts a story of *les liaisons dangereuses*, if any veil of language disguise the impropriety. Thus, in the exciting story of "Young Brown," (published in *The Cornhill*, by Messrs. Smith & Elder,) a Duke of Courthope-and-Revel ruined and left poor Madge at the roadside inn; even as the Lass of Lynn was abandoned by her stranger-lover. The seducer, in both cases, makes no further inquiry regarding the fair maiden, whose youth and beauty had caught his wandering fancy, and whom he has robbed of happiness and virtue. Poor Madge might have died, but for help, when she attempted to drown herself. But our "Lass of Lynn" was scarcely one to take to the water willingly. She would more probably soon have sunk below the surface, in a far fouler stream, and have joined the crowd of shameless and bedizened miscalled "women-of-pleasure," in that cruel London, where the last remains of innocence are destroyed in so many girls from village homes.

To those who have sound hearts the following pages will not be valueless. They help to show the miserable condition of those London harlots, whose ranks were being incessantly recruited from every part of England, owing to the sensual passion of man. The date of these *Bagford Poems* and that of "The Lass of Lynn" group is virtually the same, viz. *circa* 1668. Had it not been for George the Tapster (so, in the "Young Brown" case, help came through an old sweetheart's loyalty), the betrayed Lass might ere long have joined in such a Petition to the spiteful Apprentices of London, as the one here, beginning, "Clear was the day, though it prov'd blustering weather."

Taking it even at the best, while escaping lower degradation, like that of Doll Tearsheet, many a luckless "Lass of Lynn" would have been left to suffer the consequence of her folly, in nurturing a babe on whose innocent head the world laid the punishment of another's sin. Here is a "Drollery" version, printed in 1675, of the pathetic "Balloo" ballad (as to its English original "Lullabie," of 159 $\frac{3}{4}$, see our forthcoming paper in *The Antiquary*):

The Forsaken Maid.

TO THE TUNE OF "BALLOO."

M Y dearest Baby, prethee sleep, It grieves me sore to see thee weep; Would'st thou wert quiet, I should be glad! Thy mourning makes me very sad :	4
Lye still, my Boy, Thy Mother's joy :	
Thy Father caus'd my sad annoy. <i>Ay me ! ay me ! ay me ! poor Maid,</i> <i>That by my folly, my folly am betray'd.</i>	9
And then, my Darling, sleep a while, Yet when thou wak'st do sweetly smile: Yet smile not as thy Father did, To cozen Maids; Nay, God forbid!	13
But now I fear That thou, my Dear,	
Thy Father's face and mind will bear. <i>Ay me ! ay me ! ay me ! poor maid,</i> <i>That by my folly am betray'd.</i>	18
When he began to court my love, I thought him like the Gods above; His sugred words so pearc't my heart, (And vow'd from me he'd never part);	22
But now I see That cruel he	
Cares neither for my Babe nor me. <i>Ay me ! ay me ! ay me ! poor maid,</i> <i>That by my folly am betray'd.</i>	27
Fare-well, fare-well, thou falsest Youth, That ever kiss'd a Woman's mouth; Let never Maid then after me, Commit her to thy courtesie;	31
For cruel thou, If once they bow,	
Wilt thou abuse them, thou car'st not how. <i>Ay me ! ay me ! ay me ! poor maid,</i> <i>That by my folly am betray'd.</i>	36

Of the original "Lass of Lynn," with her answer, "Ay, marry, and thank you too!" the song in our *Bagford Ballads*, p. 462, is apparently an imitation: the earliest dated copy known to us being of 1700. Long before had appeared the ballad in Pepys Collection, V. 398: "The Thankful Country Lass; or, The Jolly Batchelor kindly entertained!" It begins, "I met with a Country Lass," and has the required burden, [*Ay=*] *I, marry, and thank you too*, with two lines of music: the tune being, "I am so sick of love" (a ballad in Pepys Coll., V. 334). Printed for J[ames] Bissel (successor to John Clark), at the Bible and Harp, near the Hospital-Gate in West Smithfield. Probable date about 1689. We give the ballad complete, on p. 542*.

§ 2.

Doll Tearsheet, in Eastcheap.

1st Beadle.—“The Constables have delivered her over to me; and she shall have whipping-cheer enough, I warrant her. There hath been a man or two lately killed about her.”—*King Henry the Fourth*, Part II. Act v. sc. 4.

Alas! poor Doll Tearsheet. Our heart is sad for her, and her disgraced sisterhood. We confess to feeling the tenderness of pity for her. She was a bright handsome wench a few short months ago. The blood ran warmly in her blue veins, and needed not that over-heating with “too much canaries” which flushed her cheek, on Dame Quickly’s testimony, until her colour became “as red as any rose.” Late hours, evil companions, unwholesome food and potations speedily destroyed the bloom of health. Her natural vivacity could not overcome the fits of gloom and disquiet, that were almost remorseful and repentant. So her gaiety became forced and excessive, when stimulated by strong drink. She was not happy, but uproarious revelry made her forget sorrow. Reckless in speech, she grew to be a mistress of scolding vituperation, such as she could vary at her pleasure, for each new squabble. Falstaff, Pistol, or the “blue-bottle rogue,” the “thin man in a censer,” the “filthy famished correctioner,” the “good-man Bones,” who led her off to Bridewell, all had a taste of her quality. Her tongue had a tang like whipcord. Yet she loathed obscenity of speech in others, and there is no reason to doubt that, after her own fashion, she loved those who were kind to her, and who admired the remains of her beauty. She carried it off with a high hand, it is true: “Come, I’ll be friends with thee, Jack; thou art going to the wars, and whether I shall ever see thee again or no there is nobody cares!” But she shows genuine gladness at the safety of her defender, after the turning-out of Pistol, and there is a true ring in her professions of attachment:—“I love thee better than I love e’er a scurvy boy of them all.” Being told, “Thou’lt forget me when I am gone!” she replies, “By my troth thou’lt set me a weeping, an thou say’st so. Prove that e’er I dress myself handsome till thy return. Well, hearken the end.” When he is suddenly called off, to the wars, she exclaims, “I cannot speak:—if my heart be not ready to burst!—Well, sweet Jack, have a care of thyself!” It is during his absence that she goes further wrong; she falls into the hands of the law and its vile executioners with their “whipping-cheer.” Lastly, when he is poor and on his death-bed, we hear of Doll as in a lower depth, dying in the Spital: to be followed thither by the quondam Quickly, who had fallen on

evil days with her—“for we cannot lodge and board a dozen or fourteen gentlewomen, that live honestly by the prick of their needles, but it will be thought we keep a bawdy-house straight.” Thus quietly, distinctly, yet without offence, does Shakespeare let in the light on the Doll Tearsheets of his own day.

The name was well chosen as befitting one of her excitable temperament—“a pricker, a prancer, a tearer of sheets.” In the following ballad (dated 166 $\frac{2}{3}$) we see another Doll Tearsheet, of the Restoration Days, in her hour of worldly triumph : a suitable prelude to the Petition and Complaint of her decline and fall.

[Roxburghe Coll., III. 252, 253. Rawlinson Coll., 566, fol. 59.]

The Banting Wanton's Resolution;

Wherein you will find that her only Treasure
Consisteth in being a Lady of Pleasure.

TO THE TUNE OF, *General Monk's March.* ¹

<p>OH! fye upon Care, Why should we despair? Give me the Lad that will frolick, There is no disease, But Musick will please, If it were the stone or the cholick. 6 The Lad that drinks Wine, Shall only be mine, He that calls for a Cup of Canary, That will tipple and sing, Kiss, caper, and spring, <i>And calls for his Mab, and his Mary.</i> 12</p>	<p>I love a young Heir, Whose fortune is fair, And frolick in <i>Fishstreet</i>-dinners; Who boldly doth call, And in private payes all, These Boyes are the noble beginners; For what the old Father In long time did gather, He toaps it away without measure, Hee'l lye in my lap, Like a Bird in a trap, <i>And call me his Lady of pleasure.</i> 36</p>
<p>Such Sinners as these My pallat will please, For this is a Lad that will knock it, Provided he be Not Niggard to me, But carry good gilt in his pocket; 18 I care not from whence He gets his expence, Nor how he comes by his treasure, So I have the sweets When he and I meets, <i>For I am a Lady of Pleasure.</i> 24</p>	<p>He wears gallant Cloaths, And studies new Oaths, And gets pretty words from the players, He swaggers and Roars, He calls the next Oars, And cries, Here's a peece for your fairs. Thus we in delight From morning till night, Do study to cast away treasure, At night in my arms I secure him from harms, <i>For I am a Lady of pleasure.</i> 48</p>

¹ The metre resembles Tom D'Urfey's later song of "The Dame of Honour," 1706 (music, in *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, i. 213). "Monk's March" is in Playford's *Dancing-Master*, edition 1665, p. 41. The tune belongs to 1660.

The Second Part.

TO THE SAME TUNE.



WHEN this Gallant's broke,
 I've another he-spoke,
 And he hath my protestation,
 I call him my Love
 My Jewel, my Dove,
 And swear by my reputation, 54
 That I never did know
 What Love was till now,
 Though I have had men beyond mea-
 With such tricks as these [sure.
 All Coxcombs I please,
 For I am a Lady of pleasure. 60

When they're in the Jayle,
 They wretchedly rail
 And at me they cast all their curses,
 Let them laugh that win,
 I care not a pin,
 When I have confounded their purses:
 While they have disgraces,
 I know not their faces, [seizure,
 When Warriors of *Wood-street* make
 But when they'r whole men
 I'll know them agen,
 For I am a Lady of pleasure. 72

I live by the quick,
 And not by the sick,
 Or such whose estate lye a bleeding,
 My wa[i]st must be bound,
 By men that are sound;
 For I am a Lass of high feeding; 78
 If once they get poor,
 No Money, no Whore,
 And yet they shall wait on my leisure,
 I only fulfill
 My fancy and will,
 Which shews me a Lady of pleasure.

I laugh when they tell
 Me stories of Hell,
 I think there is no such Cavern,
 If Heaven there be
 (As some will tell me)
 I am sure it must be in the Tavern: 90
 Where there is no wine,
 There's nothing divine;
 Wee'l think of a grave at more leisure,
 Boy, fill th'other glass,
 For I am a Lass
 That will be a Lady of pleasure. 96

In freedom and joyes I'll spend all my dayes, For there is no greater blessing, Than musick and meat, Good wine and the feat, And nothing to pay for the dressing.	Let Sisters precise Go turn up their eyes, And speak words by line and by leisure, If death comes at last And takes me in haste Then there lies a Lady of pleasure. 108
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FINIS.

(*Roxb.*)—London, Printed for *F. Coles, M. Wright, T. Vere, and W. Gilbertson*, (166 $\frac{2}{3}$ in MS.)

(*Rawl.*)—London, Printed for *F. Coles, T. Vere, and J. Wright*, 1672.

[In Black-letter. Rawlinson copy has one woodcut at beginning, of Cupid holding a bow and a book: watching a man and woman at the foot of a hill. The Roxburghe cut is similar, but with a man in a tree, and no Cupid. Variations of these woodcuts (which were reproduced neither in *Bagford* nor in *Roxb. Ballads*) belonged to "The Mourning Conquest," Bagford Collection, II. 135, and "The Crost Couple," Roxburghe Coll., II. 94; except in regard to the label from the mouth of Cupid, which, instead of "Alas, poor thing!" bears the dialogue, "Oh! You press me too hard." "Hey for a Boy or a Girl!" The Roxburghe copy is the earlier, and has our small additional woodcuts, before the fifth verse (the woman, Richard Johnes's, before 1581); it thus begins the Second Part with "When this Gallant's," etc.; but the Rawlinson begins it, improperly, with line 37.]

Such a heartless Jade as this "Lady of Pleasure" deserved to meet with her match, in a male companion on her own level; and no doubt she found more than one. We have no faith in sanctimonious boasters of immunity from vice and frailty, among the sham saints of Puritanism, ancient or modern: ugly revelations of divorce-courts often rudely displace the mask on both sides of the Atlantic. Quite as little trust can be yielded to the vaunts of intended reformation, made in "The Merry Man's Resolution." This reveller boasts that he has run through every labyrinth of sinful indulgence. He favours us with a list of his houses-of-call, where he took his ease, and had his pocket picked. The following ballad is another ill-omened "Resolution." Few persons will envy him the geographical or topographical knowledge, here displayed, of suburban Syrtes and Lee-shores, of Scylla and Charybdis, or other places of peril. Two centuries ago the area of London was comparatively small; but the map of it might have been studded as thickly with clusters of black stars, denoting evil neighbourhoods, the dens of plunderers and wantons, as is now the "Wreck-chart" of the praiseworthy Life-Boat Association.

Laurence Price is the author of the ballad (which, like the one preceding, we decide to give here, instead of awaiting reprint *in loco* among other *Roxburghe Ballads*). Many of his writings are in the Bagford, Roxburghe, and Civil-War Collections.

We add a few notes on some localities mentioned.

Line 1. Alas for "the fields" around *St. Giles's*. They were early swallowed by the brick-and-mortar cormorant called Population. Hereafter air and light may return to them, but their flowers at present gain few prizes, although needing loving hands to gather them from out the foul and trodden paths.

Line 2. *Turnbull Street*, or Turnball, near Clerkenwell, was originally Turnmill Street. Justice Shallow well knew its evil repute, when he boasted of his feats done there in the wildness of his youth (*2nd Henry IV.*, iii. 2). Some feel a pride in bygone wickedness, "and every third word a lie," such as is known to converted prize-fighters, chimney-sweeps, and other shining lights.

Line 3. *The Greyhound Inn* was (according to J. C. Hotten and Jacob Larwood) probably the same as that "mentioned by Machyn, which seems to have been situated in Fleet Street, where the gaudily-dressed Spanish Ambassador took his stirrup-cup before leaving London." Doubtless, he had good reasons for his choice. But in 1555 "An ill woman who kept the *Greyhound* in Westminster was carted about the city," etc. (Strype's edit. of Stow, 1720, Book i. p. 258.)

Line 3. Without specification in the text, we can scarcely feel certain as to which *Bell* is meant. Notwithstanding the sensible horror entertained against these clamorous nuisances (such horror as animated the Whistlecraft Giants, when the monks raised a belfry in their neighbourhood), Bell-ringing practice continues always in England. It is a mania of fenny countries, and of correspondingly flat minds. The metal tongue is listened to by those who are deaf to silvery-speech Eloquence, and who love not golden Silence. One "Bell Tavern" was in King Street, Westminster, where, on Shrove-Tuesday, 1648, nine years before date of *Amanda Poems*, there was enough of revelry, noise, and horse-play romping to disgust even the mirth-loving Pepys: "full of tag-rag and bob-tail, dancing, singing, and drinking, of which I was ashamed, and after I had staid a dance or two I went away" (*Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Bickers and Son's excellent Library Edition, Mynors Bright, editor, 1875, i. 65). Here he dined, shortly afterwards, with Washington, the purser; and here in November, along with Pierce and Shepley, he "drank several bottles of Hull ale" (*Ibid.* p. 210). In the same month he was at a gambling-house, "one entering into Lincoln's Inn Fields, at the end of *Bell Yard*, where strange the folly of men to lay and lose so much money" (*Ibid.* p. 376). Was this the locality mentioned? "Come, let's to the *Bell*, for their wine there drinks well" (*Pills*, iii. 191). In 1566 a woman who kept the *Bell*, in *Gracechurch Street*, was carted as a bawd.

Line 7. As to *Long Acre*, Pepys tells us, under the date Feb. 17, 1664, "With my wife, setting her down by her father's in Long Acre, in so ill looked a place, among all the brothels, that I was troubled at it, to see her go thither" (*Ibid.* 1876, ii. 419).—"The Nymphs of *Drury-Lane*" acquired notoriety long before pretty Nell Gwynne stood at the door of her lodgings there, on May-day, 1667, "in her smock sleeves and bodice, she seemed a mighty pretty creature," watching the "many Milk-maids with their garlands upon their pails, dancing with a fiddler before them" (*Ibid.* 1877, iv. 318). Already she had known poverty and unkindness enough, among selfish revellers like Buckhurst, to make her almost envy the Milkmaids,¹ as the Queen Elizabeth had done before her. But Nelly had no bitterness in her heart.

¹ This poetic compliment to Milkmaids, by Thomas Nabbes, is worth recalling:—

Cicely's Song.

What a dainty life the milke-maid leads?
 When over the flowry meads
 She dabbles in the dewe, And sings to her Cowe;
 And feelles not the paine Of love or disdaine.
 She sleepes in the night, though she toyles in the day;
 And merrily passeth her time away."—(*Tottenham Court*, 1633.)

Line 10. *Bloomsbury*, in earlier time called *Lomesbury*, was open country between St. Pancras and Montague House (where the British Museum is now). It so remained for more than a hundred years after the date of our *Amanda Group*. The fields were used by duellists, and the few dwellings were cottages.

Line 14. *Common Garden*, now Covent Garden, reminds one sadly of the original name, Convent Garden, and its associations.

Lines 16 and 43. *Mopseis*. The designation recalls a very early ditty (circa 1470) made by a dignitary of Canterbury Cathedral, and lately recovered among the archives; never hitherto in print. We make room for it in our seventh section: "I pray yow now, com kyss me, my lytel prety *Mopse*! I pray yow, com kyss me!"

Line 19. The *Bankside*, Southwark, opposite Blackfriars, was part of "the Liberty," belonging to the Bishops of Winchester: whence the bodily sufferers from "suburban females," there abounding, were mocked by the title of "Winchester Geese," who hissed at the Globe. Visitors to the Bull-baiting and Bear-garden resorted to these *hetairai*.

Line 19. *Blackman's Street*, Southwark, was near the King's Bench Prison, and now joins the High Street, Borough.

Line 21. *Kent Street*, also in Southwark, the dirty and disreputable thoroughfare for pilgrims to Canterbury and foreigners from Dover, had its laureates. Speedily we shall come (in Roxb. Coll., II. 198) to a ballad, entitled, "The Good Fellow's Frollick; or, the *Kent-street Club*:" beginning, "Here is a crew of jovial Blades." It will be reprinted in vol. iv. of *The Roxburghe Ballads*. In 1633, Kent Street had been described as "very long, and ill-built, chiefly inhabited by broom-men and mumpers."

Line 21. *Horsy-down*, now called Horslydown (formerly used as a grazing field), to the east of Tooley Street and Snow's Fields, in Bermondsey, Surrey.

Line 22. *Redriff Town* = Rotherhithe; which, like adjacent Deptford, was always proverbial for wantonness and cuckoldry. It lies between Bermondsey and Deptford, south of Thames.

Line 25. *Wapping*, between London Docks and the Thames, opposite Bermondsey, had retained an evil reputation for the brutality of its long-shore thieves, murderous bullies, treacherous immodest women, and unpunished crimes. From Wapping began the row of pirates, hanging in chains, which extended at intervals far down among the Essex Marshes. When "Judge Jefferies," the Chancellor, took flight, in 1688, it was to Wapping he hurried, and found it: he was there detected, seized, and nearly torn to pieces by the cowardly rabble. The river-side neighbourhood only slowly improves, still possessing dens of debauchery where plunder and murder assail the drugged victims. There the harpies and their allies are constantly "waiting for Jack."

Line 26. *Ratcliffe Highway* (now called St. George's Street), leading from Shadwell Docks towards Smithfield, is still the favourite thoroughfare of the frail sisterhood, who are perpetually patrolling it, to catch sailors newly home from long voyages. Remembrance lingers of the celebrated Ratcliffe Highway murders, perpetrated in 1811, on the Williamson and Marr families, by the sailor Williams, who committed suicide after being arrested. No worse deed of stealthy remorseless cruelty could be found among the desperadoes of Stuart and Orange days.

Line 26. *Rosemary Lane*, in Whitechapel, is now called Royal Mint Street. It was an old clothes mart even before the Civil War.

Line 27. *Shore-Ditch* has already received comment in *Bagford Ballads*.

Line 27. "The Pleasant Walkes of *More-Fields*" = Finsbury, were given by Mary and Annis Fines, the "two Ladies of Finsbury," to serve as a recreation ground, and for the young "maidens of London to dry their cloathes in." Richard Johnson, in 1607, published a poem on the subject, and there is also a ballad, in *The Crown Garland of Golden Roses*, celebrating the sisters' liberality. Of course, the fields were soon polluted by baser associations; compare line 28. (See *Roxb. Bds.*, iii. 652, "In *Moor-fields*, one evening tide.")

Line 31. *Whitecross Street*, with its debtors' prison, helps to perpetuate remembrance of one among Nell Gwynne's many kindnesses. She had, as Walter Thornbury shows, "in her will desired her natural son, the Duke of St. Albans, to lay out £20 a year [=more than sixty pounds of our money] to release poor debtors out of prison; and this sum was distributed every Christmas Day to the inmates of Whitecross Prison." This dole had not ceased in 1860, as shown by Hepworth Dixon, in his *London Prisons*.

Line 32. In *Cobbes Prophecies*, 1614, is mentioned a deferred fulfilment until
 "When Turn-mele Street and Clarken-well
 Have sent all bawds and whores to hell."

Line 33. *Cow Cross* and [*West*] *Smithfield* were together. Here resided that stalwart female-warrior whose exploits are sung in *The Bagford Ballads*, p. 323. For nearly two centuries, street-ballads were issued incessantly by the wholesale publishers of this district.

Line 38. The pretty wenches who sold wares to gallants at the Exchange, and smiled ready for amatory intrigue, were often girded at in ballads. In *Wit and Drollery*, 1656 edition, p. 110 (also in the later *Merry Drollery, Compleat*, p. 134), is a song on the frequenters: "I'll go no more to the New Exchange." Another (mentioning all the "choice of knacks and toys" sold there), beginning, "I'll go no more to the Old Exchange" is in *Merry Drollery*, 1661, i. 126. The ninth verse tells of—

. . . "the witty pretty maids, all bound as servants there,
 Whose heavenly look invites the eyes of gallant Gentlemen,
 To buy some curious Knack or Toy, and then they'll come agen."

So in "Robin Conscience's Progress," 1683, we read:—

"The Gallant Girls that there sold Knacks,
 Which Ladies and brave Women lack,
 When they did see me, they did wax
 In choler."

A woodcut on p. 516* shows a pretty Exchange-seamstress coquetting with a rich gallant, who makes purchases and appointments. "Oh, but she'll keep her word!"

Line 49. For what cause the ballad-singer went to *Bristol* and to *Gloucester* could only be explained by Laurence Price; who must have had some private reason for mentioning these places so invidiously. But we have a guess.

Line 56. *Luthners' Ladies* are those who resided in *Leukeners' Lane*, otherwise *Lukeners' Lane*. Some of their patched faces are shown on pp. 490, 498.

Line 57. The *Cherry Garden* was another Southwark haunt, in Rotherhithe, at the end of Bermondsey Wall, for those "Merry Men" whose motto was "Life let us cherries!"—*Freit euch des Lebens*. Pepys went there on 15 July, 1664 (*Diary*, ii. 487). *Cherry Garden* stairs and pier still remain, marking the locality on Thames bank.

Line 58. *Spur Alley* probably is in connexion with *Giltspur Street*, near the Counter prison (see R. Speed's "*Counter-Scuffle*," 1670), with *Newgate* in the vicinity. The "Merry Man" seems to have hunted up each *bona roba* who, for family reasons, dwelt near a prison. He must have been acquainted with every jail in London, from the lowest, without rising to the dignity of the Tower.

*** The Woodcuts of "The Merry Man's Resolution" are of earlier date. The feathered gallant and sturdy husbandman, conversing, first appeared in ill-starred Robert Greene's *A Quip for an Vpstart Courtier*, 1592. Sneering at the Harveys of Saffron Walden, as being sons of a rope-maker, it began that "flying and scarting" which employed Tom Nash and Gabriel Harvey, until *The Trimming of Thomas Nash* caused a suppression of their controversial books in 1597. The other two cuts (displaced from heading the Second Part) show courtiers of James I. and of his Queen, Anne of Denmark, before 1620.

[Roxburghe Collection, III. 242.]

The Merry Mans Resolution ;

Or,

His last farewell to his former acquaintance,

Declaring how hee rambled up and down,
Through all the suburbs of fair *London Town* ;
Where pretty wenches he did plenty find,
But some of them agreed not with his mind ;
Till, at the last, by chance he found out one,
Which pleas'd him best, so let the rest alone,
To her he then clinged close, as I heard tell,
Made her his mate, and bid the rest farewell.

TO A GALLANT NEW TUNE, CALLED, *The Highlanders new Rant.*



NOW farewell to *Saint Gileses*, that standeth in the fields ;
And farewell to *Turnbul-street*, for that no comfort yeilds ;
Farewel unto the *Grey-hound*, and farewell to the *Bell*,
And farewell to my land-lady, whom I do love so well.
With a come, Love ; stay, Love ; go not from mee :
For all the world i'le forsake for thee.

6

Farewel to *Long-Acre*, that stands neer to the *Mews* ;
And farewell to *Drury-Lane*, where pretty wenches use :
And farewell unto *Sodom*, and all her painted Drabs,
And farewell unto *Bloomsbury*, and all their vapouring scabs.
And come, Love ; stay, Love ; go not from me :
For all the world i'le forsake for thee.

12

Farewel to *Crosse-lane*, where lives some babes of graces ;
 Farewel to *Common-garden*, and all her wanton places :
 Farewel unto *West-minster*, and farewel to the *Strand*,
 Where I had choice of Mopseis, even at my own command.

Sing come, Love ; stay, Love ; go along with me :
For all the world i'le forsake for thee.

18

Farewel to the *Bank-side*, farewel to *Blackmans-street*,
 Where with my bouncing lasses I oftentimes did meet ;
 Farewel to *Kent-street* Garrison, farewel to *Horsy-down*,
 And all the smirking wenches that dwells in *Redrif* Town.

And come, Love ; stay, Love ; go along with me :
For all the world i'le forsake for thee.

24

The second part.

TO THE SAME TUNE.

NOW farewel unto *Wapping*, and farewel to *Black-wall* ;
 Farewel to *Ratchife* High-way, *Rosemary-lane* and all ;
 And farewel unto *Shore-ditch*, and *More-fields* eke also,
 Where Mobs to pick up Cullies, a-night-walking do go.

The[n] come, Love ; stay, Love ; go along with me :
For all the world i'le forsake for thee.

30

In *White-crosse-street* and *Golden-lane* do straping lasses dwell,
 And so there do in every street, twixt that and *Clarcken-well* :
 At *Cow-crosse* and *Smith-field*, I have much pleasure found,
 Where wenches like to *Fayeries* did often trace the round.

Yet come, Love ; stay, Love ; go not from me :
For all those girles i'le forsake for thee.

36

Yet something more i'le speak off, which seems to many strange,
 There's store of pretty wenches, lives neer to the *Exchange* :
 And many more there are sure, that dwelleth in *Cheap-side*,
 And other streets in *London*, which are both broad and wide.

Yet come, Love ; stay, Love ; go not from me :
For all those girles i'le forsake for thee.

42

To all the Country Mopseis, where ever they do dwell,
 In this, my last conclusion, I likewise bid farewel :
 Though they were used in former time to come when I did cal,
 I take thee for the holdest, and best among them all.

Then come, Love ; stay, Love ; go not from me :
For all the world i'le forsake for thee.

48

At *Bristol* and at *Gloicester*, I had of Loves great store ;
 But now I find enough of thee, I will desire no more :
 And what I have said to thee, thou shalt find true and right,
 I'le do thee trusty service, at morning and at night.

Then come, Love ; stay, Love ; go not from me :
For all the world i'le forsake for thee.

54

Farewel unto black patches, and farewel powdered locks,
And farewell *Luthners Ladies*, for they have got the pox :
Farewel the *Cherry-garden*, for evermore adue,
And farewel to *Spur-Alley*, and all that wanton crew.
And come, Love ; stay, Love ; go not from me :
For all those girles i'le forsake for thee.

60

London, Printed for *Francis Grove*, on *Snow Hill*.

FINIS.

L[*aurence*] P[*rice*].

[In Black-letter, with three woodcuts (but we here use a different Cavalier, our original being blurred and indistinct). Date about 1655, or earlier We print each couple of half-lines as a whole line, and remove the second-part cuts to the end. A different "Merry Man's Resolution" is in Roxb. Coll., II. 342, beginning, "If young men and maidens will listen awhile."]



§ 3.

The Apprentices and Lightskirts in Alliance.

"A Prentys whilom dwelled in oure Citee,
 And of a craft of vitailliers was hee.
 Gaillard he was, as Goldfynch in the shawe,
 Broun as a berye, a propre short fellowe;
 With lokkes blake, ykempd ful fetisly;
 Dancen he koude so wel and iolily,
 That he was cleped Perkyn Reuelour.
 He was as ful of loue and paramour
 As is the hyve ful of hony sweete:
 Wel was the wenche with hym myghte meete.
 At every bridale wolde he synge and hoppe,
 He loued bett the Tauerne than the shoppe.
 ¶ For whan ther any ridyng was in Chepe,
 Out of the shoppe thider wolde he lepe
 Till that he hadde all the sighte yseyn,
 And daunced wel, he wolde nat come ageyn,
 And gadered hym a meynee of his sort,
 To hoppe and synge, and maken swich disport," etc.

(*Canterbury Tales*, lines 4365 to 4382.¹)

The earliest poem of our group is in the form of a pretended "Complaint," but is virtually an invitation to the London Apprentices to league themselves in alliance with the "Suburban females," as Meriton Latroon calls them. Meriton Latroon was the *nom de plume* of Richard Head, and of his continuator, Frank Kirkman, in the four-volumed "*English Rogue*." The London Prentices had early been noted for their love of swaggering and intrigue, in costly dress beyond their station: an indulgence which was legally prohibited and severely punished. See Chaucer's description of one, above, from the interrupted Cooke's Tale.

In the second part of his "*English Rogue*," licensed Feb. 1668, Meriton Latroon tells of the revels held at taverns by these prentices and women. His description, along with the copperplate picture (from which we copy a group on our p. *491), affords a close commentary on the poem, even to the trades:

"My Master was not only a Taylor, but kept a Broker's shop, wherein he sold all sorts of clothes, new and old: He lived in one of the principallest streets in the City, and was in good esteem with his neighbours, who were all persons of some quality, not of the meaner sort, but substantial Tradesmen, as *Goldsmiths, Grocers, Drugsters, Scriveners, Stationers, &c.* and I (being now well fitted with clothes, and having my pockets pretty well lined with money which I had still kept by me) was a fit and welcoms companion to the best sort of Apprentices, in whoss society I did soon insinuate my self, and having money to spend equal with this

¹ All that remains of the lost tale discloses the low character of the Apprentice until his time of service came to an end. We quote from the Ellesmere Manuscript, as printed by *The Chaucer Society* (p. 127).

best, I came acquainted with a whole gang of such Blades, that all my former knowledge was nothing in comparison to what I soon experimented from them; for their Masters being of the wealthiest sort of Citizens, and keeping Countrey-houses at *Newington, Hackney, Stepney, &c.*, they often had opportunity in their absence to meet, and keep their Club or general Rendezvous, which was commonly every other night, at one of the Taverns near adjoining: and my Master, who did well understand that I was frequently abroad, and in what Company I spent my time, did not in the least oppose or contradict me therein: for I soon found that these young Jovial Blades, though Apprentices, yet they were my Master's best customers, for there was none of them but had a sute or two of clothes *A la mode*, which commonly lay at our house, which they put on when they had any frolick out of Town, either at *Christmas, Easter, or Whitsontide*, or at any other time, when they pretending some urgent occasions, they would give their Masters the slip."—(*The English Rogue*, vol. ii. p. 163.)

He goes on to tell of "being at our general Rendezvous, where we had good wine, and better company, being attended by two or three Suburbian Females, who were the Doxies of our Comerades." Most of the apprentices relate their adventures, in subsequent chapters. In the 25th we read of the squabble at a tavern, where a "bluff fellow" intrudes himself on the gay company, while one of the girls is singing. Soon he is forcibly ejected, with much noise, and the Constable carries the youngsters before an Alderman—"Our Ladies had slept away, as indeed it was but time (for had they gone with us, I doubt *Bridewell* would have been their lodging, and they should have had rapping cheer):" Knock! Knock! (See our ensuing pages, *495, etc.) The lads are sent to the Counter. They make up their differences, and agree in a tale to outwit the Alderman, before whom they are brought again next morning, when they pay the fees, and a fine to the poor. For this mischance they are mocked by their luckier comrades, until the narrator manages to square the account by cheating the said Alderman out of his scarlet gown, and cutting it into petticoats, one for each of "our three *Madonnas*; and this adjudged very fit and equitable." So the whirligig of Time brings about its revenges.

Hereafter, in *The Roxburghe Ballads*, we shall come to the celebrated one of "George Barnewell, the London Apprentice," (before 1624) beginning, "All youths of fair England." It shows the lures of the wanton Millwood. She prevails on him not only to rob his master, but also to murder his uncle (Roxb. Coll., III. 26; Bagford, I. 42; II. 109; Pepys, II. 158; and Euing, No. 81). It need not be additionally reproduced here, for it is accessible in Percy's *Reliques*, iii. B. 3, No. 6, 1767; Child's *English and Scotch Ballads*, viii. 213; and Percy Society (*Apprentices*), i. 35. George Lillo, in 1731, wrote his tragedy of the same name, avowedly from the ballad, which he reprinted as an introduction to the play (Lillo's *Dramatic Works*, i. 131, 1816 edition). Until a few years of the present date, "George Barnwell" used to be per-

formed on Boxing-night, previous to the Pantomime, at the London theatres, as a special injunction against the seductions of light-women, for the Apprentices, whose masters permitted them to visit the play-house on such an occasion, "in order that they might profit by the moral lesson and godly warning." The event was generally celebrated with so much noise that the drama was reduced to "inexplicable dumb show," and thus became more of a Pantomime than the Harlequinade itself, with "Here we are again!" The Lady who is supposed to utter the following "Complaint to the Apprentices of London"¹ is evidently of the Sarah Millwood type.

¹ Let it be mentioned that in the nearly unique originals there is an excessive employment of emphasized *Italics* and Capitals. In our present reproduction we venture to abate this forcible feebleness of typography.

There were no woodcuts belonging to the white-letter originals of these Apprentice poems. We draw, and engrave, some expressly, from various sources. One on next page shows *The Extravagant Apprentices and their Lasses at a Tavern Frolick*. The original was published in 1668, the date of our poem.



"Poor Whores are whip'd, whilst Rich Ones ride in Coaches."

[Bagford Collection, III. 45.]

The Poor Whore's Complaint
to the
Apprentices of London, etc.



WE, who descended from that noble Dame,
Whom the Old *Romans* did a Goddess name,
And, unto whom, to show her mighty state,
They built a Temple near the City Gate, 4
Are now (be 't spoke with grief) so much distrest,
As we can find, in our sad state, no Rest.
Our Rents are great, our clients go a-pace,
And we forsaken are in ev'ry place. 8
None pities us, nor hearkens to our moane,
But ev'ry Shag-rag casts at us a stone.
Hunger we feel, and also cloathing lack,
We Gowns have, though not Smocks, unto our back. 12
And petticoats, no more then needs, we find,
Yet these blow open will with every wind.
Besides all this, with hot encounter we,
Too many of us scab'd and mangy be. 16
Our Leeches, who would us to health advance,
Hasten away, to Sea, or else to *France*.
Confounded *Dutch-men*! you have caus'd our smart,
And only You we curse with all our heart. 20

You have depriv'd us of our trusty Guard,
 And our approaching Friends you do retard,
 For fear of being Press'd for souldiers, they
 Are forc'd to hide, or else to run away. 24
 And can you blame them? Since they did resort
 To *Venus' Court*, they hated *Mars* his sport.
 Ev'n so do we, and therefore once again,
 We wish the *Dutch* all drowned in the Main. 28

But since complaints, unless redress be found,
 The Parties griev'd will more deeply wound,
 We think upon a good expedient,
 Our future woes to cure, or to prevent. 32
 And therefore now, Brave *London-'Prentices*,
 Who speedily may help us, if you please,
 We (quite forgetting former injuries,
 Which made the tears to trickle from our eyes,) 36
 Request, that, by a very firm Compact,
 A Peace with us you'll lovingly contract.
 So doing, you and we shall pleasure find:
 For we, you know, are of the Pleasant kind. 40
 We'll not exact upon our Allies, when
 They come to us; but only other men
 Shall pay for peeping. Our fidelity
 Is known to all, that on it do rely. 44

Of each of you, we so small Fees will take,
 As us, we're sure, when try'd, you'll not forsake.
 For such, as do the *Surgeon's Art* profess,
 May unto Us most freely have access, 48
 For little Charge; their Box of Ointment will
 Much Money save, the want of which does Kill
 Young Lovers strait. *Apothecaries* may
 With Us, their Patients, very often play;
 And that securely from their Masters hide;
 If any ill should unto such betide,
 We'll strait be Sick, though for no other ends,
 Than to preserve the Credit of our Friends. 56
 Those 'Prentices, who *Merchants* serve, are best
 Able to spend, to frolick, and to feast.
 Such Lads we love and like; their Money store
 When touched by Us, will make our Joy run o're. 60
 But *Goldsmith's-Men*, who Cash have in their Hands,
 Enough to buy a stately House and Lands,
 Shall be most welcome. We will say no more;
 But when Such come be sure to ope the Dore. 64
 The *Mercer's-Men*, out of their Master's Goods,
 May most of Us supply with Scarfs and Hoods.
 And *Linnen-Drapers*, with a Piece, or two,
 Of Lawn, or Holland, may be useful too. 68

These Six Sorts only are sufficient,
 Our Health, our Wealth, and Cloathing to augment.
 Yet other *Trades* contribute also may
 Much to our State. We must at small-game play, 72
 Rather than be expos'd to POVERTY:
 For Birds unfledged, never safely Fly.

Therefore, *Good Lads*, what Trade soever You
 Are bound to follow, Come and help us too. 76

Of such, as You, who cannot Mountains have,
We scarcely will so much, as Mole-hills, crave.
Something, we know, may now and then be made,
By Over-work, or Slight of Hand, in *Trade*. 80
How-e're you get it, so't be Silver, we
Without all niceness, will contented be.
But such of you as careless Masters have,
May most securely for Expences save. 84
Yet since We know, that most are ignorant,
In time of Need, how to supply their Want ;
We very freely will to You impart,
Some needful *Hints* : without the terms of Art, 88
To you unknown. First therefore, above all,
Be always ready at your Master's Call.
Follow your Work, as if you were some Saint,
And, if he keeps you bare, make no Complaint. 92
Yet, when you see a seasonable Time,
What e're you do, you must not judge a Crime :
But reason thus : Who helps to get it? I.
Then part is mine.—But this is by the by. 96
Your Master missing, what you seized have,
Your Care must be, your Credit how to save.
Therefore some Maid, or Boy not fit for Game,
Be sure you Confidently plague with Blame. 100
Or say, whilst you but turn'd your hack, 'twas stole,
And then, that Loss, with feigned Grief, condole ;
If these shifts fails, come unto Us, and We
Will teach You more, than now may Printed be. 104

London, Printed in the Year of Our Great Affliction, [1668 : Reprinted in] 1672.



§ 4.

Bridewell.

"Enter Constable and Bill-men.

Bols.—Is't Shrove-tuesday, that these Ghosts walk ?

Constable.—To Bridewell with 'em

Duke.—Your Bridewell, that's the name ? . . a Prince's Court

Is thus a Prison now." Decker's *Honest Whore*, Part ii.

Not only as being their frequent companions in revelry, and occasional providers of stolen goods, was it necessary to conciliate the Apprentices. If angered, they became dangerous foes, and their evidence often caused the women to be severely treated in the "spinning-house" or jail. As connected with the imprisonment and the whipping of these *filles de joie*, we may profitably turn to Ned Ward's description of Bridewell. He not being now so well known as formerly, we take a passage from Part vi. of his *London Spy*. First, as to the Hemp-beating:—

"We then turn'd into the Gate of a stately edifice, which my friend told me was Bridewell. At my first entrance it seem'd to me rather a Prince's Palace than a House of Correction, till, gazing round me, I saw in a large room a parcel of ill-looking mortals stripp'd to their shirts like Haymakers, pounding a pernicious Weed, which I had thought, from their unlucky aspects, seem'd to threaten their destruction. 'These,' said I to my Friend, 'I suppose, are the offenders at work; pray what do you think their crimes may be?' As we were turning back to avoid their further Sauciness, another calls to me, 'Hark you, Master in black, of the same colour with the Devil, can you tell me how many thumps of this hammer will soften the Hemp so as to make a Halter fit easie, if a man should have occasion to wear one?' A third crying out, 'I hope, Gentlemen, you will be so generous to give us something to Drink, for you don't know but we may be hard at work for you?' We were glad with what expedition we could to escape their impudence, and so turned from the Work-Room to the Common-side or place of Confinement (where they are locked up at night). . . .

"From thence we turn'd into another Court, the buildings being, like the former, magnificently noble; where, straight before us was another Gate, which proved [to be] the Womens Apartment. We follow'd our noses and walk'd up to take a view of their Ladiea, who we found were shut up as close as Nuns; but, like so many slaves, were under the care and direction of an Overseer, who walk'd about with a very flexible Weapon of Offence, to correct such Hempen Journey-Women who were unhappily troubled with the spirit of Idleness. . . . Some seem'd so very young, that I thought it very strange they should know sin enough at these years to bring them so early into a state of misery. Others so old, that one would think the dread of the Grave, and thoughts of Futurity, were sufficient to reclaim 'em from Vice, had they been train'd up never so wickedly; some between both, in the meridian of their years, and were very pretty, but seem'd so very Lewd, that, *Messalina* like, they might be tired, but never satisfied. 'Pray, Sir,' says one of them, 'how do you like us? You look very wishfully upon us? What do you think of us?' 'Why truly,' said I, 'I think you have done something to deserve this punishment, or else you would not be here.' To which she reply'd, 'If you'll believe me, without blushing, I'll tell you the truth: I happen'd to live with an old Scrivener, and when my Mistress was out of the way, he us'd to tickle my lips with a pen-feather, and at last she catch'd us, and had me before Justice *Overdoe*, who committed me hither, where I have had more Lashes on my poor back, than ever,' etc.

The light sisterhood give vent to much ribald talk, which is duly and sedately recorded by the chronicler, who "could not but wonder to hear this impudence from Women, more especially when he considered they were under such shame, misery, and punishment, which a man might reasonably imagine would work upon the most corrupt minds, and make them abominate those base practices which brought 'em to this unhappiness." Later, he adds some sensible remarks on the impolicy of inclosing together the venial offender and the hardened sinners, as well as on the monstrous indecency and cruelty of publicly inflicting such shameful whipping on the half-naked women. Evidently, he was no advocate for retaining, what Shylock calls, "the harmless, necessary Cat."

"My friend re-conducted me back into the first Quadrangle, and led me up a pair of stairs into a spacious Chamber, where the Court was sitting in great grandeur and order. A grave gentleman, whose awful looks bespoke him some honourable citizen, was mounted in the Judgment-Seat, arm'd with a Hammer, like a Change-Broker at *Lloyd's* Coffee-House, when selling goods by inch of candle: and a Woman under the Lash in the next room, where folding-doors were open'd, that the whole Court might see the Punishment inflicted. *At last down went the hammer, and the scourging ceased.* . . . I protest, till I was undeceiv'd, I thought the Offenders had been Popish Penitents, who by the delusion of their Priests were drawn thither to buy lashes by auction. The Honourable Court, I observ'd, were chiefly attended by fellows in blew-coats, and women in blew-aprons. Another accusation being then deliver'd by a Flat-cap [citizen, or apprentice] against a poor Wench, who having no friend to speak in her behalf, Proclamation was made, *viz. All who are willing E——th T——*—It should have present Punishment, pray hold up your hands. Which was done accordingly: And then she was order'd the Civility of the House, and was forc'd to shew her tender back and tempting bubbies to the grave Sages of the august assembly, who were mov'd by her modest mien, together with the whiteness of her skin, to give her but a gentle correction."

Ned Ward declares, as to this sort of correction, "it makes many wh——s, but that it can in no measure reclaim 'em."¹ As Portia says, "The Law allows it, and the Court awards it." But such flogging is wholly brutalizing and barbarous.

We turn to fol. 159 of the British Museum "Poetical Broad-sides," for a reference to this Knock of the hammer, as a signal to stop the flogging. A well-known insult to women, insinuating that they had already been flogged as disorderly persons, was the shouting to them in the streets, "*Knock! you jades, knock!*" Women, while thus under punishment, used to shriek aloud their plea for mercy to the presiding magistrate: "O knock, good Sir William, knock!" and end the torture.

¹ *The London Spy*. Fourth Edition, 1709, p. 142, first published in 1698.

[Brit. Mus. Poetical Broad-sides, Case 20, f., fol. 159.]

Good Sir W[illiam], Knock!

The Whore's Lamentation for the Death of Sir W. C.



'MONGST the wet pious eyes, shall we poor Harlots
 Be the only unrelenting graceless varlets?
 What? not one tributary tear let fall,
 At the deplor'd Sir W———*M's* Funeral?
 Tho' *White-Friers*¹ *Cub*, and *Dorset-Garden Matron*,
 All quite forget your good old back-side Patron!
 A Tear, alas! the least we owe; no more
 Than we have paid him twenty times before.

4

8

¹ *Whitefriars* = Alsatia, the sanctuary for the *Cub* = Francis Winter (*Bagford Ballads*, pp. 235, 236, 243). The Duke of York's Theatre, in *Dorset Gardens*, Whitefriars, was built by Sir C. Wren. There, in May 1663, was performed Holden's play, "The German Princess," introducing the Courtesan Mary Carleton, who represented herself: she was ten years afterwards hanged, in 1673. There, in December, 1678, the two Kentish Brothers, William and Richard Joy, exhibited feats of strength, each one lifting (it is recorded) a weight of 2240 lbs., holding back a strong cart-horse; breaking a massive cable, etc. Of them it was sung,

O whether of the twain be still the stronger *Kentish Boy*?

For *Rich* is one, and t'other's *Will*: in both we find our *Joy*.

Richard Joy was drowned near Broadstairs, Kent, in 1735; William survived 1701.

How often has he forc'd, in blubbering eyes,
 The briny floods and swelling torrents rise?
 And is it now the sullen Fountain's dry?
 No, we have one pearl to grace his *Elegy*: 12
 A duty never pay'd more willing; well,
 Thou now no longer dreadful Sir, farewell.
 Death ends at once our terrour, and thy State,
 That common Beadle at the proudest gate, 16
 The High-Commission'd Leveller of Fate.
 Well, let thy cavalcade of mourners rally,
 From cellar, garret, brothel, bulk, and alley;
 All the whole Sisterhood in sable dress, 20
 From honest Posture-Moll¹ to Country-Bess.
 A jolly troop, and wondrous tender-hearted,
 All with thy Favours grac'd, some whip'd, some carted;²
 Too sad remembrances of Friend departed. 24
 Yes, mount, great Soul, to the Etherial Throne,
 And spur thy steeds and fiery chariot on:
 But when kind Heav'n a welcom[e] Guest shall find thee,
 I hope thou'lt leave no Mantle drop'd behind thee; 28
 No Jerking Successor,³ born to inherit
 A double portion of thy Flogging Spirit.
 No, let this praise in thy summ'd worth be reckon'd;
 Thou'st Non-parel, too great, to leave a second. 32
 And as 'Knock, Good Sir William,' was our Tone,
 Now, 'Knock off Good Sir William's' all our moan.
 But is Sir William Dead! and may we crave
 The honour to attend him to his Grave? ⁴ 36
 Around his Herse safe and untrembling stand,
 Whilst Death's cold Numb tyes up his Hammer-Hand!
 Great Magistrate, adieu!—But is this all,
 Our solemn Dirges at thy Funeral? 40

¹ In the *London-Spy* quotation, in a passage we omitted, the Pen-feather Lass is derided by the bolder hussies, “‘Don't believe her, Master,' cries another, 'She's . . . one of Posture-Moll's Scholars, and can show you how the Watermen shoot London-Bridge, or how the lawyers go to Westminster.'” Compare the Colophon, regarding her, on next page.

² *Id est*, some only whipt in Bridewell; others flogged at the cart's tail, in the way shown by the woodcut in our *Bagford Ballads*, pp. 707 and 945.

³ This use of the word Jerking, as equivalent for the flogging of the un-jerkined, was not uncommon. In our *Civil-War Ballads* (Bagford Coll., III. 65), we have “The Jerking Parson catechizing his Maid” = “When Oliver that imp of Mars,” 1660. Also, “There was a jerking master;” = On a Whipping School-master: in *Mock Songs*, 1675, p. 108.

⁴ As to the “Sir W[illiam] T——” here apostrophized. There was a Sir William Turner who in 1669 sat as Lord Mayor of London. He had been Sheriff in 1662. His portrait is at Merchant Taylors'. He is probably the man. We are not busied with the Apprentices, except in connexion with the Doll-Tearsheets; consequently need only mention in passing that “The Apprentices' Lamentation, together with a doleful Elegie upon the manner of the Death of that worthy and Valorous Knight, Sir Richard Wiseman,” by P. W., beginning “Thus died the Mirrour of the Times,” is included among the Editor's forthcoming *Civil-War Ballads*, Part 1st. The said Part 1st, to the Death of Laud, is nearly ready for the printers. The Ballad Society needs *Rowb. Bds.* earlier.

Thy Death too narrow Theam! to chant thy worth,
 We ought to trace such vertue to thy Birth.
 Thy Birth? ay sure, at that prodigious Hour,
 There reign'd no common mean Ascendant Power; 44
 What other Stars (if Stars o're mortals sway)
 At birth of Great Sir *William* rul'd the day,
 Let little *Gadbury*, and great *Partridge* tell:
 But this we dare pronounce for Oracle: 48
 Born that dread Plague and scourge to amorous function,
Venus and *Mars* were never in conjunction.
 No, the Love-planets then were in eclips[e],
 Whilst for a dread presage of *Thongs* and *Whips*, 52
Scorpions and *Dragons-Tayls*, a dreadful gang,
 Of Hemp and Flog did dire fore-runners hang.
 Here let one tear of Indignation fall,
 Remembrance, how thou swell'st the Woman's gall; 56
 Remembrance, that awak'st our hideous Chorus,
 By representing our sad scenes before us:
 Sad scenes, which such full vent for griefs allow,
 Till, Justice, we could turn as blind as Thou. 60
 Oh *Bridewell*, what a shame thy Walls reproaches?
 Poor Whores are whip'd, whilst Rich Ones ride in coaches.

London: Printed for the Assigns of *Posture Moll*, 1693.



“ *Honest Posture Moll.* ”

In their mock-heroic solemnity, these verses deserved to be rescued from obscurity, and the numerous chances of extinction. We befittingly connect with them, and their final appeal to the prison-house,¹ the following lines, by Ned Ward,

On Bridewell.

<p>TWas once the Palace of a Prince, If we may books confide in ; But given was, by him long since, For Vagrants to reside in.</p> <p>The Crumbs that from his table fell, Once made the Poor the fatter ; But those that in its confines dwell, Now feed on Bread and Water.</p> <p>No Ven'son now whereon to dine ; No Frigasies nor Hashes ; No Balls, no merriment, or wine ; But woful tears and slashes.</p>	<p>No Prince or Peers to make a Feast No kettle-drums or trumpets, But are become a shameful Nest Of vagabonds and strumpets.</p> <p>Where once the King and Nobles sat In all their pomp and splendor ; Grave city grandeur nods its pate, And threatens each offender.</p> <p>Unhappy thy ignoble doom, Where Greatness once resorted ; Now Hemp and Labour fills each Room, Where Lords and Ladies sported.</p>
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¹ In Allen's *History of London*, 1828, iii. 668, is an account of Bridewell Hospital: "Which stands on the spot where once stood a royal palace, even before the Conquest; and which continued, with some little intermission, as a royal residence till the reign of King Edward VI. It was rebuilt by King Henry VIII. in 1522, for the reception of the Emperor Charles V., who gave it the name of Bridewell, on account of its vicinity to St. Bride's Church, and to a remarkable well thereunto adjoining. King Edward VI., in the year 1553, gave this palace to the mayor, commonalty, and citizens of London, to be a working-house for the poor and idle persons of the city, and to be a house of correction, with 700 marks [of] land, late the possessions of the house of Savoy," etc. (Two views of Bridewell, both before and after the Great Fire of 1666, are given in Cassell's *Old and New London*, i. 12, 187.) Bridewell Prison was demolished in 1863.

The Pepys Collection (I. 208) is a ballad entitled "Whipping Cheare; or, wofull lamentations of the three sisters in the Spittle, when they were in new idewell." To the [supposititious] Tune of, *Hempe and Flax*. Printed at London for H[enry] G[osson]. It begins, "Come, you fatal sisters three."

In Rawlinson Collection, 566, fol. 98, is "The *Bridewell* Where's Resolution; or, The Confession of the Twenty-four Back-sliders," beginning, "The Sorrows that I have known," to the Tune of, *Tell me no more you love*. We read—

"Jenny and Betty do the lash defie,
 And swear they'l use the trade until they dye;
 To them the Sisters now are all assenting,
 And swear they'l use their own without relenting:
Bridewell afflicts their backs, but let me tell ye," etc.

Printed for F. Cole (*sic*), T. Vere, J. Wright, and J. Clark. Licensed by E. L'Estrange, before 1685.

Another ballad, on fol. 107 (=Roxb. Coll., II. 486) is "The Two-penny Where: In a Dialogue betwixt a Spendthrift and a Where." To the Tune of, *He that has the most money is the best man*. It begins, "A lusty young shaver, a vapouring Gallant." Printed for Thackeray, Passenger, and Whitwood.

§ 5.

The Shrove-Tuesday Raids.

"*Trimalchio*.—Good Sir, let's think on some revenge! Call up
The gentlemen 'Prentices, and make a Shrove-Tuesday!"
S. Marmion's *Holland's Leaguer*, 1632, Act iv. sc. 3.

Not only was there the grim prospect of Bridewell, with such Hemp-beating as Kate Hackabout was forced by the jailer's switch to turn to, in all her laces, furbelows and pinnars, when she had failed to melt the heart of the stern Visiting Justice (as shown by Hogarth in his "Harlot's Progress"). There was also, in 1668, the fear of some tumultuous assaults on the houses of doubtful reputation by the London thieves, led on by the Prentices, which wrecked the property and endangered the lives of the frail women. This is shown in the three poems next following.

To trace the earliest records of London Apprentices taking upon themselves the wrecking of disreputable hostelries is a business for the historian, and beyond our present purpose. Shrove-Tuesday being a holiday for working men and prentices, there had always been mischief done; cock-throwing, hen-thrashing, bell-ringing (a torment to the quiet citizens), or making attacks on inns, theatres, and any suspected *mauvais lieu*—

When mad-brained 'Prentices, that no men feare,
O'er-throwe the dens of bawdie recreation.

(*Pasquil's Palinodia*, 1619, D verso.)

Decker, in his *Seven Deadly Sinnes of London*, 1606, writes: "Like Prentise upon Shrove-Tuesday, take the lawe into their owne handes, and do what they list." Sir T. Overbury says, in his *Characters*, of a *Maquerela*, "Nothing daunts her so much as the approach of Shrove-Tuesday." "A Ballad in Praise of London Prentices, and what they did at the *Cockpitt Play-House in Drury-Lane*," March 4th, 1617, is reprinted in the first vol. of Percy Society's publications (*Apprentices*). It appears to be a modern good-humoured hoax; whimsical enough, but scarcely genuine. There had been a serious riot, however, at that date, and it tells that—

"The Prentices of London long have famous been in story,
But now they are exceeding all their chronicles of glory," etc.

The account of our Shrove-Tuesday riot given by Samuel Pepys is so important, remembering his official position at the time, and his opportunities for gaining correct information, that it cannot here be curtailed:—

"1668. March 24th. Thence back to White Hall, where great talk of the tumult at the other end of the town, about Moore-fields, among the 'prentices."

taking the liberty of these [Shrove-tide] holydays to pull down brothels.¹ And, Lord! to see the apprehensions which this did give to all people at Court, that presently order was given for all the soldiers, horse and foot, to be in armes! and forthwith alarmes were beat by drum and trumpet through Westminster, and all to their colours, and to horse, as if the French were coming into the town! So Creed, whom I met here, and I to Lincolne's Inn-fields, thinking to have gone into the fields to have seen the 'prentices; but here we found these fields full of soldiers all in a body, and my Lord Craven commanding of them, and riding up and down to give orders, like a madman. And some young men we saw brought by soldiers to the guard at White Hall, and overheard others that stood by say, that it was only for pulling down the brothels; and none of the bystanders finding fault with them, but rather of the soldiers for hindering them. And we heard a Justice of the Peace this morning say to the King, that he had been endeavouring to suppress this tumult, but could not; and that, imprisoning some of them in the new prison at Clerkenwell, the rest did come and break open the prison and release them; and that they do give out that they are for pulling down the brothels, which is one of the great grievances of the nation. To which the King made a very poor, cold, insipid answer: 'Why, why do they go to them, then?' and that was all, and had no mind to go on with the discourse."

"25th. Up and walked to White Hall, there to wait on the Duke of York. . . All with him this morning were full of the talk of the 'prentices, who are not yet put down, though the guards and militia of the town have been in armes all this night, and the night before; and the 'prentices have made fools of them, sometimes by running from them and flinging stones at them. Some blood hath been spilt, but a great many houses pulled down; and, among others, the Duke of York was mighty merry at that of Daman² Page's, the great bawd of the seamen; and the Duke of York complained merrily that he hath lost two tenants, by their houses being pulled down, who paid him for their wine licences 15*l.* a year. But these idle fellows have had the confidence to say that *they did ill in contenting themselves in pulling down the little brothels, and did not go and pull down the great one at White Hall.* And some of them have the last night had a word among them, and it was 'Reformation and Reducement.' This do make the courtiers ill at ease to see this spirit among people, though they think this matter will not come to much: but it speaks people's minds; and then they do say that there are men of understanding among them, that have been of Cromwell's army: but how true that is, I know not. . . . By coach to Islington, the old house, and then home, being in fear of meeting the 'prentices, who are many of them yet, they say, abroad in the fields."—*Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Bickers's Library edition, 1877, v. pp. 233-236.³

¹ "It was customary for the apprentices of the metropolis to avail themselves of their holidays, especially on Shrove Tuesday, to search after women of ill fame, and to confine them during the season of Lent. See a 'Satyre against Separatists,' 1675."—[Lord Braybrooke.] But this *Satyre* was issued long before 1675, the date mentioned—viz. in 1642.

² Misprinted thus in all editions. The true name is *Damaris Page*.

³ It is satisfactory to know, so long as the odious "Gallows does well—but to whom does it well? Marry, to them who do ill!"—that punishment was meted out. On the 5th April, 1668, Pepys records, "I hear that eight of the ringleaders in the late tumults of the 'prentices at Easter are condemned to die." (*Diary*, v. 248.) On the following 9th of May four of them were executed, hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn. Two of the heads fixed on London Bridge. Their names were Thomas Limmerick, Edward Cotton, Peter Messenger, and Richard Beasley. Civic influence was brought to bear, no doubt, to exculpate the apprentices, at expense of others less favoured. "It is to be observed to be just vindication of the City, that none of the persons apprehended upon the said

Evelyn takes no notice of this Shrove-Tuesday riot in his Diary, or else the record has been suppressed by William Bray. But he mentions under 2 April, 1668, "Among other libertine libels there was one now printed and thrown about, a bold petition of the poor whores to Lady Castlemaine" (edit. 1871, p. 336). To quote Goldsmith, they "claimed kindred there, and had the claim allowed." She was not usually compassionate.¹

tumult were found to be apprentices as was given out, but some idle persons, many of them nursed in the late Rebellion, too readily embracing any opportunity of making their own advantages to the disturbance of the peace and injury of others." See *The London Gazette*, Nos. 249, 259. Also "Tryals of such persons as under the notion of London Apprentices were tumultuously assembled in *Moore-Fields*, under colour of pulling down bawdy-houses," London, 1668.

¹ We need not reprint our copy of this libellous broadside: "The Poor Whores' Petition to the most splendid, illustrious, serene, and eminent Lady of Pleasure, the Countess of *Castlemayne*, etc., The Humble Petition of the undons Company of poor distressed Whores," etc.: "Signed by Us, *Madam Cresswell* and *Damaris Page* . . . this present 25th day of *March*, 1668."

A pretended Answer to this sham "Petition" continued the scandal. The full title is, "The Gracious Answer of the Most Illustrious Lady of Pleasure, the Countess of *Castlem* . . . to the Poor Whores Petition." Signed, "Given at our Closet, in King Street, Westminster, *die Veneris*. April 24, 1668. *Castlem[aine]*." Pepys declares that she was "horribly vexed at the late libell, the petition of the poor prostitutes about the town, whose houses were pulled down the other day. I have got one of them, but it is not very witty, but devilish severe against her and the King: and I wonder how it durst be printed and spread abroad, which shows that the times are loose, and come to a great disregard of the King, or Court, or Government." (*Diary*, v. 250.) Both broadsides are extant, and may also be in the Pepysian Library. Others, "The Poor Whore's Lamentation," and "An Auswer" to her Complaint, are V. 416, and V. 407.

It may be possible to ascertain the authorship of this group of Apprentices Poems. That one person wrote all four—*The Complaint, the Petition, the Answer, and the Citizen's Reply*—is clearly proved by internal evidence, and also by the external similarity of the broadsides, lacking any printer's name. They were issued rapidly in sequence, and show a singular completeness of dramatic action. The disguise of varied personality is intentionally slight. No one needed to be misled into a belief that Lightskirts was the real Complainer and Petitioner. From first to last the case was argued against her. Foreshadowed from the beginning was the judgment, condemning the rioters of both sexes: female wantons and male plunderers. We never imagine that we hear the woman's own voice, pleading for justice or mercy. Some private Diary or hidden Newsletter may hereafter reveal the secret of authorship. Whosoever wrote the poems, he knew his subject well. One curious coincidence we must note; opening up a still more curious inquiry. In the *Petition* compare line 75, "Is't not a fins Age that we do live in!" with the beginning of *A Satyr*, certainly not written before 1668 (and long subsequently printed, by R. Thyer, from Butler's own manuscript possessed by Longueville), in *The Genuine Remains* of Samuel Butler:—

"'Tis a strange Age we live in, and a lewd
As e'er the Sun in all his Travels view'd," etc. (*First ed.*, 1759, i. 69.)

The style is by no means dissimilar. *Can this group of Lightskirts Poems have been written by the author of "Hudibras"?*

[Bagford Collection, III. 46.]

The Whores' Petition

TO THE

London Prentices.



CLEAR was the day, though it prov'd blust'ring weather,
 When the rude Rout in tumults got together,
 When little Boys would prove the first beginners
 To vend their fury upon poor frail Sinners. 4
Moor-fields the Stage on which they act their fury,
 Making themselves both Plaintiffes, Judge and Jury;
 Arriving soon unto that desperate height,
 By crooked ways to seek to make things streight. 8
 Sure little good can on their Actions horder,
 Who by *Confusion* will put things in *Order*.
 Much harm by such Acts evermore commences,
 [A] Sinner always will have Saint's pretences. 12
 When first by hallowing their Mis-rule was budding,
 They'd play the Fools too, as well as *Jack Pudding* :
 Though their designs did not together hit,
 Th' one fool'd for Money, th' others for want of Wit. 16
 Sad was the Omen of their furious hope,
 First thing they meddle with to be a Rope;
 It is had jesting with edge-tools we say,
 A Rope began, a Rope may end the fray. 20
 When they had spoil'd the Vaulters of their Tools,
 They then must go to pull down *Vaulting-Schools*,
 The Whore's Dark Actions then must come to Light,
 And by *wrong* doings, they will set things right. 24

Houses by *Moor-Fields*,¹ and [at] *Whetstone's-Park*² then ;
 They were not Noble to them, so to Mark them,³
 Angels of darkness did inhabite in them,
 And they were routed as the Devil had been them. 28
 Those Feather-beds which had been instrumental
 For acting Lust, to ruine them were bent all.
 The Sheets themselves did Pennance, Curtains and Valence,
 Were open shown for hiding Leacherous Dalliance. 32
 Chairs and windows [were] broken ; work was made
 Both for the Joyner's, and the Glazier's Trade :
 Such alterations did this mischief bring,
 Summer Houses were made in time of Spring. 36
 Thus when the Ront takes on them to bear sway,
 The weaker must perforce the strong obey,
 'The Whores did to their Ruiners yeeld submission,
 And humbly offer to them this Petition.⁴ 40

¹ *Moor-Fields* had suffered heavily in the riots. See p. 500*, and note to line 27 of "The Merry Man's Resolution." Also, line 5 of present poem.

² Whetstone Park was one of the notorious haunts. There is a black-letter ballad in the 4to. Douce Coll., II. 188 *verso*, entitled, "Stand to't, *Whetstone Park Ladies*; or, the Country Lasse's Farewell to Sorrow," etc., beginning, "I am a brave Lass, and I travel about." Burden and Tune of, *With a fa, la, la*, and *Never a penny of Money*. Printed for P. Brooksby.

Whetstone Park is still represented by a lane of buildings, chiefly stables, between Lincoln's-Inn-Fields and Holborn. At either end of it is the Great Turnstile and Little Turnstile, each garnished with bookstalls. It was attacked by the Apprentices, in 1602, who showed no mercy.

"Where ladies ply, as many tell us,
 Like brimstones in a *Whetstone* ale-house."

"A Whetstone for Liars" was proverbial; whether this gave name to the Park we know not. Knowledge is circumscribed. But to be offered a Whetstone was an early hint as to "drawing the long-bow," or "throwing the hatchet." The latter phrase is explained in *Bibliog. Account*, ii. 512; and a copy of the Whetstone woodcut, from the title-page of *A Pake of Knaves*, temp. Carol. I., is given in J. P. Collier's *Book of Roxb. Bds.*, p. 103. See a Whetstone Park ballad: title noticed in our p. *515. Another song on a "Whetstone Crack" is in Douce, I. 61 *verso*, and Pepys Coll., III. 136, beginning, "My pockets, begar, were lined very well." It is entitled, "The difficult French-man's Unsuccessful Adventures."

³ An allusion to "Mark Noble's Frolick" = "One night at a very late hour," a ballad preserved in Roxb. Coll., II. 359, soon to be reproduced by us, and already described in our *Bagford Ballads*, p. 202. An earlier edition is in Mr. Ouvry's Collection, and another ballad on the same merry adventure is in the Pepys Coll., V. 199, beginning, "Behold, what noise is this I hear?" to the tune of Legan Water. The title is "The Frolicksome Wager." See the third version, called "The Ranting Rambler," = "I pray now attend to this ditty," in *Bagford Ballads*, p. 205; with an analysis of the sequel, as known at *Nirgends College*, on their preceding page.

⁴ It may here be mentioned that Narcissus Luttrell preserved a copy of the Citizen's Reply and some others (British Museum, Case 20, f. vol. ii. p. 40). Unfortunately, his *Diary* does not begin before 1675.

The Petition.

WE do desire you to use fairer Play,	
Then turn us out of Doors 'fore <i>Quarter-day</i> ;	
And that which unto us is much more harming,	
Thus to Eject us and to give no warning.	44
Had you told us before of your intention,	
We should not now our grievance to you mention ;	
We would have eased you of all your trouble,	
And all this storm should but have prov'd a Bubble.	48
Our charges ('tis well known) are very great	
For gallant Clothes to make us seem Compleat ;	
Besides our Paint doth us some Money cost.	
Shall all our Charges thus by you be lost ?	52
How shall the Broker, and the Brewer be paid ?	
Think you the Strong-water man will be delay d ?	
They for to hunt us out will never lin,	[lin = cease]
Can we pay Out and have no comings In ?	56
No, we'r resolved, although they nere so mind us,	
To go where neither they nor you shall finde us.	
What think you then does all your stir arrive at,	
If publick we can't trade, we'l do it private.	60
Yet let us wish you to forbear such storming,	
Least it to you as well as us prove mourning.	
The pulling down our houses were pretences,	
Onely to colour your more foul offences,	64
When you had ruined us, we soon should see,	
Others should in like manner ruin'd be ;	
And so this City (glory of our Nation)	
By this might have been brought to desolation.	68
'Ye rail on us because we fouly deal,	
Yet take upon you for to rob and steal.	
Was not our Plate and Linnen too the price	
Purchas'd from us by your foul Avarice.	72
Yet would not that have serv'd your turn, when grown,	
To a more head, and no resistance shown.	
Is't not a fine age that we do live in,	
When <i>Vice</i> shall undertake to punish <i>Sin</i> .	76
We do not justify our selves, yet must	
Account that Theft's a sin as well as Lust.	
We know our crimes are bad, and 'tis a curse,	
To punish be, by them which commit worse.	80
Does not this <i>Mazanello's</i> ¹ Acts revive ?	
To think that he in <i>London</i> were alive :	

¹ See next poem for a farther reference to the Neapolitan revolt of 1647. Visitors to the Museum galleries at Naples cannot fail to remember the caricature portrait of Massaniello, and the numerous contemporary paintings representing the riotous excesses of his gang, in reprisal for a long course of cruel tyranny borne from their Spanish oppressors. To a man, the painters were, not unreasonably, on the side of their rich patrons, the nobility. But much might be urged in defence of the other side, if strict justice were done. It was a struggle for liberty and national independence, under a leader who at first showed unusual skill and hardihood. An account of the events will be found in *The Carafas of Maddaloni*.

To see a Rout without all sence or Order
 Run madding up and down in every border? 84
 Can evil *May-day*¹ be so quite forgot,
 To think this was not such another Plot!
 What sullen Planet² you so fouly led,
 That such dire mischiefs should by you be bred? 88
 Then leave such tricks, which unto mischiefs tends,
 And for our Councill henceforth count us friends.

London, printed, 1668.

¹ On "Evil May-day," in 1517, the London Apprentices rose in tumult and assaulted the foreign merchants, whose houses they plundered and razed. For this dangerous riot a severe retribution followed. Henry VIII. expressed great indignation at the laxity of the city controul, and nearly three hundred prisoners were captured, many of whom were condemned to be hanged, and gibbets were erected at ten places in London. But the only person executed was John Lincoln, a broker, who had prevailed upon Dr. Bell to preach against the foreign merchants taking the bread out of the mouths of Englishmen. The revolt and its punishment were celebrated by Thomas Deloney in a ballad, beginning, "Peruse the stories of this land." It has been reprinted twice, for the Percy Society, 1841 and 1845, among the *London Apprentices' Songs*, i. 11; and in the *Crown Garland of Golden Roses*, xv. 39. It is also in J. P. Collier's privately-printed *Broadside Black-letter Ballads*, 1868, p. 96; in the *Old Ballads of 1725*, iii. 57; in Evans's *Ballads*, 1810 edition, iii. 78; and in Professor Child's *English and Scotch Ballads*, iii. 57.

² These astrological allusions were common at the time. Compare the Sidrophel incidents of *Hudibras*, Part II. 1664. Also our p. 498*, lines 44 to 54. For notes on John Gadbury and John Partridge, see *Bagford Ballads Index*.



On next page, is shown the notorious Brothel in Southwark, fortified and sentried, kept by a Mrs. Holland, before 1631. It was known as “Holland’s Leaguer.” The picture was frontispiece of a quarto pamphlet, “*Holland’s Leaguer; or, an Historical Discourse of the Life and Actions of Donna Britanica Hollandia, the Arch Mistris of the wicked women of Eutopia: wherein is detected the notorious sinne of Pandarisme*,” etc., sm. 4to. printed by A. M. for Richard Barnes, 1632. The situation is known as Holland Street, Blackfriars.

In general, the houses of ill-fame, attacked by the apprentices on Shrove-Tuesdays, were scarcely different from ordinary dwellings, and perhaps private spite often dictated the selection more than just cause of offence. But Holland’s Leaguer was exceptional, and claimed to be an island out of the ordinary jurisdiction. The portcullis, drawbridge, moat, and wicket for espial, as well as an armed bully or Pandar to quell disagreeable intruders, if by chance they got admittance without responsible introduction, all point to an organized system. There were also the garden-walks, for sauntering and “doing a spell of embroidery, or fine work,” *i.e.* flirtation; the summer-house that was proverbially famous or infamous for intrigues, and the river conveniently near for disposal of awkward visitors who might have met with misadventure.

Shackerley Marmion’s “excellent comedy,” *Holland’s Leaguer*, 1632, was reprinted in 1875, in Wm. Paterson of Edinburgh’s choice series, *Dramatists of the Restoration*. The fourth act gives an exposure of the Leaguers’ garrison, where riot, disease, and robbery are unchecked. Thus *Trimalchio* says,

“I threw thy *Cerberus* a sleepy morsel,
And paid thy *Charon* for my waftage over,
And I have a golden sprig for my *Proserpina*.”
Bawd: “Then you are welcome, Sir!”

Yet before long the visitors are shouting “Murder! Murder!”

“They have spoiled us
Of our cloaks, our hats, our swords, and our money.
My brother talked of building of a score, [*i.e.* “*Tick it.*”]
And straight they seized our cloaks for the reckoning.”

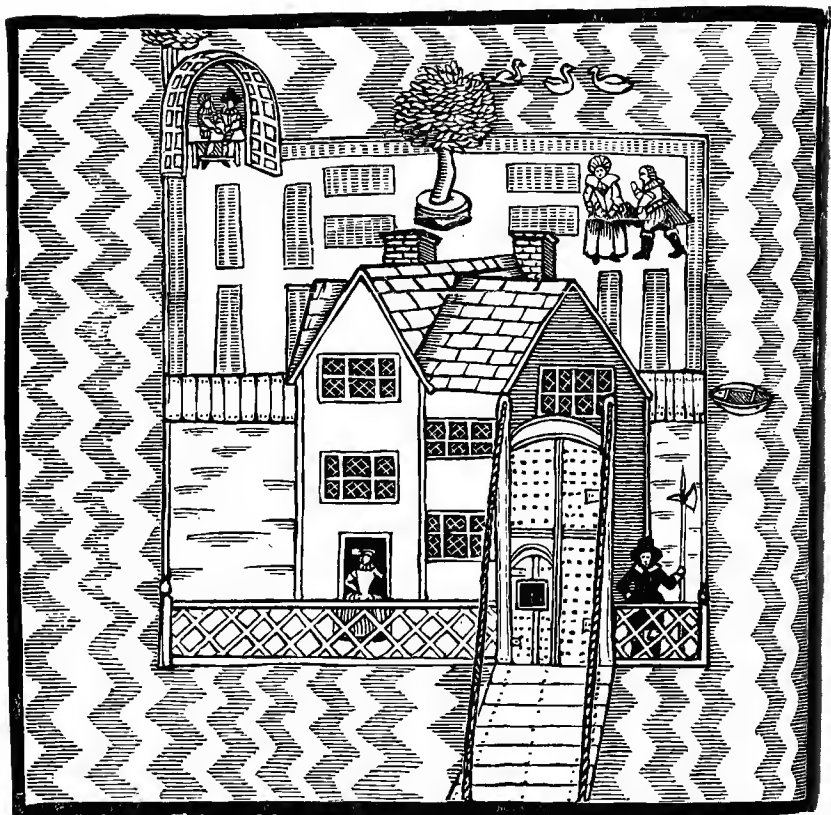
The long-credit system did not suit at that establishment, where the health and lives of visitors were uninsured. The Proprietress had early declared the free list to be entirely suspended:

“I’ll take no tickets nor no future stipends.
’Tis not false titles, or denominations
Of offices can do it. I must have money.
Tell them so. Draw the bridge.”—(Act iv. sc. 2.)

[Bagford Collection, III. 47.]

The 'Prentices' Answer

TO THE
Whores' Petition.



SAD was the day, although clear was the weather,
 When the rude rout against you met together,
 Though boys were said to be the first beginners,
 'Twas men on mischief bent that were the Sinners.

The <i>Prentices</i> 'tis known are not so rude, 'Twas but the scum of a rude multitude, Who, under that same Name of <i>Prentices</i> , Would have pul'd down houses and Pentices :	8
In every place, twas they that were the hollowers, Such as were <i>Naples Massanello's</i> followers. ¹ 'Tis truth we will not your base actions own, But let the truth unto the world be shown ;	12
Though you by your loose actions foully deal, We scorn to plunder, or to rob or steal. But 'tis our griefs we should be so base fitted, Under our Names such things should be committed.	16
We are full sensible such rude beginnings Can be to you and us but fatal winnings. No, those who in such desperate actions deal, Are such who only minde to rob and steal,	20
Men of as wicked lives as you can be, Who spurn the rope, kick at the Gallow-tree, Who would, and have, no doubt, with you drove trades, We scorn their acts, and hate such dirty Jades :	24
Who a right <i>Prentice</i> is doth scorn base Actions, And under fair pretences head rude factions. We know the consequence of such disasters, What 'tis when as the rabble becomes masters ;	28
" When men on freedome given do make intrusion, " What follows but disorder and confusion.[""] Yet let us tell you too, you are not blameless, Your damned impudence hath made you shameless :	32
You at your doors doe stand Poxed and Painted, Perfum'd with powder, yet with all Vice tainted. You, with your becks and damn'd alluring looks, Are unto men just like to tenter hooks	36
To pull them in, and truck with such base Jades, And so to make work for the Surgeon's trades. It is your cursed acts and dealings base Makes pocky Bills so thick in every place,	40
A man can't p[a]ss but if he casts his eye A two or three of them he shall espy. All this occasioned by your base Jading. For why ? so long as rogues and whores are trading,	44
The Surgeons will have work, who in such wars Gain more by <i>Venus</i> , then they do by ² <i>Mars</i> . 'Tis known that most of us we are well bred, And scorn a giddy multitude to head,	48
We know we shall Masters become in time, And that <i>Rebellion</i> is a scurvy crime. 'Twas such as bad as you this harm hath done you, For us, we scorn to foul our fingers on you.	52
Now think the Proverb right falls to your lot, That <i>what upon the Devil's back is got</i> <i>Is spent under his belly</i> : all men believes, You got your wealth by Rogues, lost it by Thieves.	56

¹ See note on page *505.

² *my*, misp. for *by*, in original.

Then for our selves we to the world appeal,
 If in this case we do not fairly deal ;
 Let the right Horse the saddle have on's back,
 Let us not blaim'd be [that] you went to wrack. 60
 We know you not, nor did we know your houses,
 We scorn such Pocky Jades, such dirty Blowses.
 We partly do believe that it is true
 'Twas some you clapt before, that now clapt you. 64
 Next unto them let's speak, who in our Names
 By their base facts doe murther our good fames :
 We wish you hence-forth for to have a care
 Least that the Halter doe fall to your share. 68
 For those who do such acts, it is their lot,
 At last to fall in *Squire Dun's*¹ Porridge-Pot,
 Such Rope-ripe Actions will cause you to wear
 A Riding knot an inch below your ear. 72
 And all men know it is a dangerous thing
 At the *Tiburnian* Tree to take a Swing.
 Let our advice to so much goodness win ye,
 As not to stirre, unless the *Devil's* in ye ; 76
 For if you in proceedings further sink,
 The more you stir, the worser will you stink.
 You, and whoever shall be your partaker,
 Will by that means make work for the Rope-maker ; 80
 For though you think much by it may be won,
 By *doing* thus you'r sure to be *undone* :
 For what so ere by such things you may hope,
 The final end of Tumults is a ROPE. 84

London, Printed 1668.

§ 6.

“How it strikes” another “Contemporary.”

Although they may differ on certain details, there is perfect concord between 'Prentices and Doll Tearsheets, in seeking adjustment of all differences by “A Rope.” “Where they do agree, their unanimity is wonderful.” A sensible looker-on, one of the substantial citizens, who heartily detested both the turbulent boys and the seducing wantons, gives his summing-up judgment against both noisy disputants, in the final poem of the series. He also recommends the two ends of the same rope. Dollymop and Trencher-cap equally deserve punishment, for each has sinned : woman and man, *they are both in the same boat.*

¹ Squire Dun was, of course, the hangman. See *Bagford Ballads*, pp. 12, 460, 778, for other references to him, and this employment of the word “Squire” by Matt. Prior, p. 917, and others, pp. 232, 466, 697, 702, and 1005 : “The Squire gives no quarter.” Truly, such quartering as he indulged in was not desired.

[Bagford Collection, III. 48.]

The Citizen's Reply

TO THE

Whores' Petition, and 'Prentices' Answer.



NOW that you two have made your grievance known,
 In the third place, pray let our cause be shown.
 The Proverb says, *Give losers leave to speak,*
 And by that rule wee may a freedome take; 4
 For why? we suffer in our Reputation,
 Such things should acted be in this our Nation;
 A City famed through *Europes* Continent,
 To be the Prime for civil Government; 8
 And that a Rout, under *Prentices* names,
 Should act such things as those unto our shames,
 We cannot but bewail, and henceforth shall
 Strive to redress, and to prevent them all. 12
 First you, who think your selves i' th' wrong'd condition,
 And therefore take upon you to *Petition,*
 We do believe your losses to be great,
 And don't approve of them that did the feat; 16
 Yet let us tell you too, your vices were
 Far greater then the loss fell to your share;
 Your actions to such height of ill did bend,
 You well might think that ill would be the end. 20
 You are the *Citties Pest-house,* Suburbs sinks,
 And what proceeds from sinks but nasty stinks?

What can expected be, from such as doe Sin with delight, but misery and woe ?	24
Complain not then, your selves may rather blame, It was your impudence that caused the same. Strive to get goods by what is lawful means, And think not to grow rich by being Queans.	28
“ That never thrives which is attain'd by ill, A little evil got, much consume will.”	
Forbear henceforth then to commit such facts, You see the consequence of such bad acts ;	32
“ Shame and confusion alwayes is the end, Of that which unto vice and sinne doth tend.”	
Then, next, to you, who set the boys on work : (Who little thought such mischeif in 't did lurke,)	36
You who act mischeif in <i>Prentices</i> names, Thinking upon them for to put the blames ;	
Who, by pretence of punishing of Whores, Doe rob and steal from them their wealth and stores,	40
Who knowes what mischeif might by this arose, When faction did with insurrection close ;	
Sad might it prov'd if you had been cemented, “ Dangers foreseen are easiest prevented.”	44
'Tis good to crush the Serpents in the Eggs, Before such mischeif stands too firm on legs ;	
Some, little dreaming harm, may be drawn in, And so be punisht for anothers sin.	48
They suffer may, for all their harmless looks ; “ What has the <i>Daws</i> to doe among the <i>Rooks</i> ;”	
Keep far from such, then, as doe move sedition, “ By giving Countenance, you give Commission.	52
It is encouragement to those uncivil For to look on, and not correct their evil.”	
You raile on Whores, 'tis true, they bad do live ; And yet your selves as bad example give.	56
Will you in such contempt and rudeness stand, To seek to wrest the sword from <i>Justice</i> hand ?	
What can be thought of such a bold intrusion, But that it will bring all into confusion.	60
Sad may we think will prove that fatal day, When a rude rout takes on them to bear sway. Such actions must needs shipwrack on the shelves, Who'd punish Theft and be strong Thieves themselves ?	64
Do you your selves in compass fair demean, Justice will punish them which is obscene ; Should Justice chance to wink, 'tis tumults curse To punish Vice by that which is far worse ;	68
Tumults in time may to Rebellion come, Mischeifs doe after mischeifs swiftly run.	
So to conclude, let's wish you to beware, And in your actions have a better care,	72
Though some by fair delusions in would creep, There's difference will be found 'twixt <i>Swine</i> and <i>Sheep</i> ; And those who seek by Boyes to make foul ends, May find the Hangman prove their fastest friends :	76
Let insurrections have the <i>Tiburn</i> swing, We for our parts doe cry, <i>God save the KING.</i>	

§ 7.

Only one Year after "Paradise Lost."

"Tax not Divine disposal: wisest men
Have err'd, and by bad women been deceiv'd;
And shall again, pretend they ne'er so wise."

Samson Agonistes, 1671.

No one denies that there was much immorality in 1668, the date of this group of poems on the London riots, Apprentices, and Wantons. The year had begun (old style) with grave apprehensions about the Dutch Fleet, and disputes between the Commons and the Privy Council. Some people were reading "The Causes of the Decay of Piety," by the author of "The Whole Duty of Man." Others laughed, said it were well if Puritanical strait-lacedness had decayed, but nobody could deny that the Whole Duty of Woman is to make herself agreeable, whenever it is possible. Marvell was circulating his infamous libels against Nan Hyde and the Court. Diceing and drabbing were admittedly too prevalent. Even loyal gentlemen had felt shocked, when the duel took place between the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Shrewsbury, causing the death of the injured husband, while the Countess, disguised in male attire, held the horse of her paramour, the king's chief councillor. The terrors of the Plague and of the Great Fire were beginning to be forgotten. There was lavish expenditure and a superabundance of corn, so that farmers had declared themselves ruined by the cheap prices; much preferring to hoard wheat in granaries, with the comfort of knowing they could get famine-prices at market whenever they chose to sell. Small-pox raged awhile, and frightened people, but nothing long troubled the revellers, save scantness of coin and credit. Place-hunting went on, more keenly than ever. Court favourites held up proud heads, as though to-morrow were to be the same as yesterday, only much more abundant; Moll Davis, for one, being promoted from playhouse boards to King's company: "the most impertinent slut in the whole world," according to Mrs. Pepys's opinion (*Diary*, v. 158), and she had opportunities for comparison. Theatres and actresses won more attention than affairs of State. Buckingham dared openly face the public by sitting in the pit, to see Etherege's comedy, while Shrewsbury lay dying of his wounds, within three weeks of the duel. No wonder that, with this light conduct freely talked about, the Prentices were encouraged in their attacks on houses of iniquity.

After all said and done, conceding much to censors and moralists, there was a good deal of quiet happiness, of virtue and religion,

sound and unostentatious, in "Charles the Second's golden days, when loyalty no harm meant." Now, surely, enough and to spare has been written about the renewed and open profligacy of the Restoration-year, or the quarter of a century intervening before good-humoured "Old Rowley" saw his last "Courtier's Saturday Night" at Whitehall, and James the Unforgiving reigned in his stead. But even as the beautiful wantons, who charmed Charles Second, laughed at the ugly "Misses" who held captive his more gloomy and superstitiously-devout brother of York; so had it been with the gay Cavaliers of the Restoration, that they could point derisively to the innumerable cases of profligacy among the grim later Puritans, during the Interregnum. Such profligacy was even more of an outrage on morality, although not on public decency, because it was conjoined with a sanctimonious hypocrisy. Charles declared that his brother's ill-favoured mistresses must have been chosen by the Confessor, for penance. The naughty damsels of Oliver's time seemed more hardly put to it, while they took up with the Roundhead Conventiclers, who defended such backslidings of the saints by patriarchal examples; or boldly declared themselves the immaculate Elect, to whom no blame could attach itself, because what was guilt in others was in them above censure.

"He swore, by yea and nay,
He would have no denial;
The spirit would have it so:
She should endure a tryal,
Ere she go.

"'Why swear you so?' quoth she:
'Indeed, my holy Brother,
You might now foresworn he,
Had it been to another,—
Not to me!'"

There is no use in attributing all the vice, as a new thing, to the Restoration. We who read the extant literature of James the First's reign, and of Charles the First's, can find ample evidence of licentiousness in London. Nor had it been unknown or infrequent in Elizabeth's time. But the prodigality of young heirs to estates was never more daringly displayed than soon after her death; and all the profligacy of the continental cities, especially Venice and Paris, found a willing crowd of imitators in our English travellers, who brought back evil habits and empty purses to the impoverished Court. Tom Coryatt, in his *Crudities*, 1611, tells of his reception by a Venetian Courtesan, and gives us three pictures of her (two being in his ornamental title-page), from which we borrow a sketch to show the sumptuousness of her in-door costume (see our p. 474*). But England had never been behind-hand in a knowledge of vice during Tudor days. The Charleses were not worse than other sovereigns.

That the amorous songs of the earlier Stuart time were less gross than many which found favour after Dutch William brought

his sullen countenance and cold-blooded infidelity to the English Court, will be readily acknowledged by all who have fairly studied the subject. The love-songs of even so chaste a writer as Thomas Carew had not been invariably "proper."¹ But there was generally a thin veil of modesty, if not a nun's hood to disguise the tempting ware. As a specimen of what found favour among the golden youth, and one hitherto unattainable in print, may be given the following ditty; from a private manuscript, time of James the First. There is evidence that it was once a favourite, it being among the songs denounced by the sour and vindictive railer at sports and plays, Philip Stubbes, in his *Anatomie of Abuses*, 1583.² The warning against "Fire-ships" would be well understood.³

The Pinnace.

A Pinnace rigg'd with silken sailes,
 What is more louely then to see,
 But still to see is small availe:
 I must aboard, as thinketh mee.
 To see is well,
 But more to tell,
 Lackes more then sight, you will agree.

7

I must aboard, to note eche parte,
 And then go downe into her holde:
 The outside can not me divert,
 Albeit be of silke and gold:

¹ If they had been they might not have been the more esteemed. It is recorded of a Presbyterian couple, that when they left the manse where the nuptial knot had been tied (in Scotch fashion, not at the kirk), the donce Bridegroom said to the blushing Bride, "Jeannie, I'm thinking that I might as weel noo hae a kiss! Hae I no been raal *proper*, to ha' askit nane a' this time; and we courtin' thae twa years? Was I no proper?" The damsel may have had her own opinion of this excessive abstinence, for she replied, "Oo ay! dom'd proper!"

² See the reprint, so ably edited by our Director, Frederick J. Furnivall, for the *New Shakspeare Society*, 1879, pp. 314, 315. It is instructive to have access to the puritanical old back-biter and cynic, Stubbes, but more especially for the sake of the full commentary of his modern editor. Canon Kingsley also tried in vain to make out a case for the Mawworms, in his *Plays and Puritans*. But railers like Stubbes hate everything and everybody: they would make the world a den of wild beasts.

³ The allegory or equivoque is well sustained in a later black-letter ballad (4to. Rawlinson, 566. fol. 129), beginning, "The *Jenny*, a small Pickaroon in the Park." Its full title is, "The City-Caper; or, The *Whetstone's-Park* Privateer. Being a true relation how a small she Pickaroon lately sail'd from the Park, and crnsing abroad in the night, seiz'd on a rich Merehant-man, whom she tempted to board her, and then she disabled his ship, took all his cargo, spoill'd his tackle, and burnt his rudder, etc." Tune of *Captain Diddy*. Printed for Philip Brooksby, circa 1673. (For note on *Whetstone-Park*, see p. 504*.)

“ *A Pinnace rigg'd with silken Sailes.* ”

To see without,
 Keepeth in doubt ;
 She must be felt, and I'll be bold. 14

Her timbers I must eke survey,
 To know if they be strong and sound :
 That must I do without delay,
 And all her frame examine round.
 Her ribbs of oke,
 They may be broke,
 And in her nether parts unsound. 21

A Pinnace may be riggde with silke,
 And all may be hut outward show :
 Her bottom must be white as milke,
 And all her tackling gere below.
 She may be stale,
 With silken saile :
 That at the first I faine would know. 28

In such a case you can not make
 To[o] sure of what you enter thus :
 Some pinnaces such lading take,
 As oft-times is most dangerous.
 To board a prize,
 To please your eyes,
 O then, farre better not untrusse. 35



Samuel Rowlands, who mentions the "Pinnacle rig'd with silken saile" in his "*A Crew of Kind Gossips*," 1609, also names the "Garden Nightingale"¹ among other loose songs. So early as 1605 had been printed another "Nightingale," one by John Marston. It is sung to the lute by Francischina, in his *Dutch Courtezan*, Act i. sc. 2, beginning thus:—

The darke is my delight; so 'tis the Nightingale's.
 My musicke's in the night; so is the Nightingale's.
 My body is but little; so is the Nightingale's.
 I love to sleepe 'gainst, etc. . . So doth the Nightingale.

Of later date, in 1632, was a similar ditty (now recovered by us from one of Anthony à Wood's manuscripts, 401, fol. 131*verso*), of which no more remains than the first verse:—

Fragment of a Ballad :

To the Tune of, the Nyghtingall.²

O Come, my Lady, away,
 Let's make it holliday,
 Underneath this tree,
 Where none may see,
 Come sitt thee downe, sweet heart, by mee.
 And when I have gained the fort,
 I'll shew thee gallant sport,
 And soe, Lady, let's agree.
Ha, ha, ha, ha.
 O come my Lady away, and let's make holliday,
 Underneath the tree.

[*Cætera desunt.*]

¹ One such is still extant, and named to suit (Pepys Coll., IV. 41; and 4to. Rawlinson Coll., 566, fol. 67), "The Nightingale's Song; or, The Souldier's Rare Musick, and Maid's Recreation." To the Tune of, No, no, no, not I; or, Pegg and the Souldier. It begins, "As I went forth, one sunshining day."

² Evidently the Nightingale ballad, which gave name to this tune, was one in the same metre, preserved in Roxb. Coll., I. 296; reprinted in *Roxb. Ballads*, ii. 251. We find it entered, in Stationers' Registers, "to John Wright and the rest of the partners in Ballads," for 30th July, 1632, etc. It invites to listen, "You Gallants that resort to *Hide-Park* or *Totnam-Court*." The third verse tells,

The Prentices doe stray,
 Upon the first of *May*,
 To meet their Loves
 In the gay green Groves,
 Where every one their fancie proves, etc.

The burden being, *Sweet, sweet, sweet; Jug, jug, jug, jug, sweet, jug, jug, jug, jug; The Nightingale doth sing.* The fame of *Tottenham Court* was in 1632 at its height. An earlier "Nightingale" may have been the disturber of *Stubbes*, who liked no ballad save his own dolorous compositions, two of them remain to us. One thus commences, "The workes of God are wonderfull, as you by this shall heare." His other, similar in title, "A fearefull and terrible Example," begins, "O mortall men! which in this world for time have your repast." We prefer the grove of Nightingales, and any quantity of Jug.

That sound Churchmen, before the Reformation troubled them, could love a fair lass in an innocent way, and call her “pretty Mopsie,” “pet,” “my pullet, my low-bell,” we needed no further evidence than certain strips of vellum or parchment which we have seen, that had been carried off by cathedral rooks to line their belfry nests. The manuscripts were recovered, after four centuries, a little the worse for wear. We are glad to get them, nevertheless. Here is one song from such a manuscript, not hitherto in print, warranted genuine, and nearly *verbatim*,¹ except where the original used contractions. It was written by J. Wolstane, an ecclesiastic of high rank at Canterbury, *circa* 1470, who welcomed many a pilgrim from Molash; and, for aught that we know to the contrary, kept himself free from the allurements of the Amanda-crew, although he had learnt the secrets of their lodge. It was not closely tiled.

¹ There is no punctuation in the original. We supply the distinctions of dialogue, and a few necessary letters, by *italics*, instead of using square brackets.



Song.

He.
I Pray yow now come Kyss me!
 I pray yow, come Kyss me,
 My Lytle prety Mopsie:
 I pray yow, come Kyss me.

She.
 Alas, good man, most now be Kyst?
 Ye shale not now, ye may me trust:
 Wherefore go where as ye lust,
 For I wiss ye shale not kyss me.

He.
 I wyss, sweethart, yff that ye
 Had asked a gretur thyng of me,
 So onkind to yow, I wold not have he:
 Wherefore, I pray yow, come kyss me.

She.
 I thinke very well y^t ye are kynd,
 Where as ye loue and set yore mynd,
 But all yore words be but as wynd.
 Wherefore now ye shale not kyss me.

He.
 I do but talke ye may me trust,
 But ye take euery thyng at the worst.
She. Wherefor I say, as I sayd furst,
 I wyss ye shale not Kyss me.

He.
 I pray yow let me kyss yow,
 Iff that I shale not kyss yow, [necke,¹
 Let me loke, let me kyss yore karchos
 I pray yow let me kyss yow.

She.
 Allso I say, as I furst haue sayd,
 An ye wyll not therewith be dysmayed,
 That wyth that aunswere ye shall be:
 Therefore ye shall not kyss me. [payd.

He.
 Now I see well that kysses are dear,
 And yff I shold labor all the whole year,
 I thynke I shold be neuer the near.
 Wherefore I pray yow come kyss me.

She.
 Neuer the near ye may be shuer,
 For ye shale not so far bring me ore,
 To consent vnto yore nyse plesure,
 Nor I wyss ye shale not kyss me.

He.
 I pray yow now come kyss me,
 My lytle prety mopsie,
 And yff ye will not kyss me,
 I pray yow, let me kyss yow.

She.
 Well for a kyss I shale not stycke,
 So that ye will do nothing but kyss;
 But an ye begin and offer to prycke,
 I wyss ye shall not kyss me.²

He.
 I now see well that ye are kynd.
 Wherefore yeshalenowknowmymynde,
 And as yore owne ye shall me fynde
 At all tymes ready to kyss yow.

FINIS.

J. WALSTAN.

¹ *qu.* kerchiefed? If so, it proves how extremely *proper* he was.

² She has a reasonable horror of those hot feline ecstasies, which suited Dolores, Amanda, and other female voluptuaries. Even Browning refines on kissing, beginning with the light evanescent touch, “the moth’s kiss first,” and ending with “the bee’s kiss” which crushes the petals. But pretty little Mopsie recognized it as improper for her to kiss, although it might be pardonable to be kissed. She knew that lips were desecrated by any hiting, wounding and pricking of too fierce an ardour (as described by the masterly hand of a true Poet):

“By the ravenous teeth that have smitten
 Through the kisses that blossom and hud,
 By the lips intertwined and hitten,
 Till the foam has a savour of blood.”

Such kisses suit the “Love’s Philosophy” of neither Mopsie nor Shelley.

Even thus are differences arranged, by substituting the passive for the active verb. When Aleyn, the luckier of the two clerks, "at Trumpyngton nat fer fro Cantebrigge," was quitting his pleasant Miller's daughter, Malyne, he assured her, similarly, of his constant love :

"And seyde, 'Fare weel, Malyne, sweete wight,
The day is come, I may no lenger byde,
But euermo, wher so I go, or ryde,
I is thyn awen clerk, swa haue I seel.'
'Now deere lemman,' quod she, 'go fareweel.'"

One more love-song of the same date, *circa* 1470, from our unprinted MS. stores. It is only a fragment, by a very early Tennyson, but the original had suffered rough usage; like Sterne's "Remarks," which intermediately served for a Frenchwoman's *papillotes*.

Song: from a Manuscript of 1470.

<p>· · · · for I will not fle to loue y^t hart y^t louyth me.</p> <p>That hart my hart hath in such grace Y^t of too harts one hart make me. Y^t hart hath brought my heart in case to loue y^t hart y^t louyth me.</p> <p>For one y^t like unto y^t hart Neu^r was nor ys nor neu^r shalbe Nor neu^r lyke cause set y^t a part to loue y^t hart y^t louyth me.</p> <p>Whyche cause gyueth cause to me & To serue y^t hart of suserente,¹</p>	<p>& styll to synge y^t later lyne to loue y^t hart, &c.</p> <p>Whet eu^r I say, whet eu^r I syng, Whet eu^r I do y^t hart shal se, Y^t I shale serue with hart louing Y^t louing hart, &c.</p> <p>Thys Knot thvs kny^t who shale untwyme Syns we y^t kny^t y^t do agree, To lose nor slyp but both enclyne to loue y^t hart, &c.</p> <p>Farewele of harts ye hart most fyne, Farewele dere hart hertly to ys & kepe y^t hart of² myne for thyme, As hart for hart for louyng me.</p>
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So in the old time they loved, either sentimentally or sensually: with sickly moonbeams in their brains, or tropical sunshine in their veins.

"What of soul was left, we wonder, when the kissing had to stop?
Dust and Ashes!' So you creak it, and I want the heart to scold.
Dear dead women, with such hair too—what's become of all the gold
Used to hang and brush their bosoms? I feel chilly and grown old."

¹ =suzeraintie.

² Erasure of *mys* in MS.

§ 8.

Decker's Bellafront.

Cicely.—Ha! what silken butterfly's yonder? Shee looks not like one that had kept her selfe warme all night at the Brick-kiln : yet silke petticoats many times are glad with worse lodging. . . . Be sure I catch you not napping ; for, if I doe, I have lesse mercy then Prentices at *Shrovetide*.—T. Nabbes : *Tottenham Court*, Act i. sc. 4, 1633.



Worthy Tom Decker, in his “ Honest Whore,” both parts, gives a striking embodiment of the shameless Courtezan, in her painting, her luxurrious living, her bold unfeminine language, but also in the bitterness of her self-upbraidings, her disgust at the degradation into which she had fallen ; degradation from which at length she escapes. Charles Lamb bestowed deserved praise on the vigorous conception and execution of this character, Bellafront, the reformed courtezan : and a few words from “ Elia ” are worth whole pages of other criticism. The same play was a favourite with William Hazlitt, to whom old Orlando Friscobaldo became a living reality and established friend. Bellafront, loathing her

former life, thus tells of her horror and remorse at the contrast with innocence:—

"When in the street
A faire yong modest Damsell I did meet,
She seem'd to all a Doue (when I pass'd by)
And I (to all) a Rauē : euery eye
That follow'd her went with a bashfull glance,
At me each hold and iecring countenance
Darted forth scorne : to her (as if she had bin
Some Tower vnvanquished) would they vaile,
'Gainst me swolne Rumor hoisted euery saile.
She (crownd with reuerend praises) pass'd by them ;
I (tho' with face maskt) could not scape the hem :
For (as if Heauen had set strange markes on Whores,
Because they should be pointing-stocks to man)
Drest vp in ciuilest shape a Curtizan,
Let her walke Saint-like, noteless, and vnknowne,
Yet she's betrayd by some tricke of her owne."¹

As to women visiting taverns, Decker, in his *Gul's Horne-Booke*, chapter vii. 1609, mockingly advises a Gallant: "If you desire not to be haunted with fiddlers (who by the statute have as much liberty as rogues to travel into any place, having the passport of the house about them), bring then no women along with you: but, if you love the company of all the drawers, never sup without your Cockatrice; for, having her there, you shall be sure of most officious attendance." As to women sitting publicly at theatres, while language scarcely meet for maids to hear was being spoken and laughed at, they were satirically exhorted, in *The Schoole of Slovenrie*, 1605 (= *Grobianus and Grobiana*: R.F.'s translation of Dedekind's 1552-1589 original, whence Decker borrowed the idea and much of the material for his *Horne-booke*):—

Meane time, perchance, vnto the cittie Players there are come,
Which round about the towne proclaime their Play by sound of drum.
Vnto the vulgars store of feates and active trickes they'le show,
That they vpon them to maintaine them, something may bestow.
Many profane and base both words and actions they will have,
Which are mislikte of such as are of life and manners grave.
And yet it is thy dutie vnto every word to harke,
And all their gestures and their actions carefully to marke.

¹ (Second part, printed in 1630, but licensed in 1608, four years after the first part. Decker's Works, ii. 154.) In commenting on the above passage, Charles Lamb writes: "This simple picture of honour and shame, contrasted without violence, and expressed without immodesty, is worth all the *strong lines* against the harlot's profession, with which both parts of this play are offensively crowded. A satirist is always to be suspected, who, to make vice odious, dwells upon all its acts and minutest circumstances with a sort of relish and retrospective gust. But so near are the boundaries of panegyric and invective, that a worn-out sinner is sometimes found to make the best declaimer against sin."

To all their wanton words you your attentive eare must give,
 According vnto that you heare, heerafter you must live
Let nothing in your cheekes a red vnseemely colour raise,
 Keepe still this rule, there can be thought no neerer way to praise.
 All men will thinke that you the way to vice did never know,
 If in your gestures you no signe of blushing vse to show.

(*Third Booke of Grobianus and Grobiana*, pp. 128, 129.)

Shakespeare was chary of introducing these strange-women, and kept them in the background. Thus, in his early *Comedy of Errors*, we see little, but quite enough, of the Courtezan to whom Antipholus of Ephesus promised after supper to give a chain. In *Othello*, Bianca (introduced to enhance by contrast the purity and sweetness of Desdemona,) appears but twice; yet she is necessary as a link in the chain of events. In *Timon of Athens*, wherein the morbid hatred of the misogynist appears in all its masculine strength and deformity, no women mingle with the tragedy of a perverted nature, for fear of weakening its impression, except only the two mercenary wantons, Phrynia and Timandra, who accompany Alcibiades.

Alcibiades. I have heard in some sort of thy Miseries.
Timon. Thou saw'st them when I had prosperitie.
Alcibiades. I see them now: *then* was a blessed time.
Timon. As thine is now, held by a brace of Harlots!

In *Troilus and Cressida*, it is true, we behold painted at full length one who is ready to be corrupted even from her girlhood; one whose first affection is quickly tainted with pollution, and leaves behind it no hallowing remembrance as a safeguard. In *Cressida* we see and feel “the very pulse of the machine,” and can appreciate the truth of the cold-blooded dissection when Ulysses describes her:—

Nestor.—A woman of quicke sense.
Ulysses.—Fie, fie upon her!
 There's a language in her eye, her cheek, her lip;
 Nay, her foot speaks; her wanton spirit looks out
 At every joint and motiue of her body.

In *Measure for Measure* we have to meet many base knaves. We hear of their degraded womenkind; but they are quietly kept from view. Others than Shakespeare would have revelled in obtruding them. So in the (most part doubtful) *Pericles*, we have to see the inside of a vile house, its porter, its unsexed proprietress, and usual patrons or visitors; but the light-sisterhood are hidden, and scarcely mentioned. It is by comparing him with others, his great rivals in dramatic art, that we can estimate his superior purity.

§ 9.

Cranley's Amanda.

"Tell me now in what hidden way is
 Lady Flora, the lovely Roman?
 Where's Hipparchia, and where is Thais,
 Neither of them the fairer woman?
 Where is Echo, beheld of no man,
 Only heard on river and mere,—
 She whose beauty was more than human? . . .
 But where are the snows of yester-year?"

D. G. Rossetti: *Translation of François Villon*, 1450.

A contrast, similar to that of Decker's *Bellafront*, is drawn in stanzas 37 to 39 of Thomas Cranley's remarkable poem entitled "Amanda; or, the Converted Courtesan," 1635; from which we have adopted a title to individualize the present group of Bagford broadsides. Despite some intentional coarseness (although the entire aim of the "Amanda" is eminently moral and religious), the poem is of great value for its elaborate exposure of the course pursued by such women, in their sinfulness, and in their occasional awakenings to repentance or newness of life. Thus we had felt tempted to give an accurate reproduction of it, as a finale.¹ If given complete, it would have over-weighted this Supplement.

Instead of giving the whole poem, we take part only of the remonstrance² sent to Amanda by her young lover, whom she had attempted to allure: one who was disposed at first to esteem her chaste and innocent, as she was beautiful. In itself, it forms a virtually complete poem, and thus comes to close what we have designated the "Amanda Group" from the Bagford Collection of Poems and Broad-sides, at Bloomsbury: the Field of Forty Footsteps.

¹ "There is no more detailed and highly finished picture of the habits, expedients, and peculiarities of wantons at this period [1635] than in the poem from which the foregoing quotation has been made" [i.e. *Amanda*].—J. P. Collier's *History of English Dramatic Poetry*, 2nd edition, 1879, iii. 218. *Amanda*; or, *The Reformed Whore* was licensed by William Haywood for the Archbishop of Canterbury, on July 1st, 1635. Cranley was imprisoned in the King's Bench. The reference to a Courtesan's favourite poems (i.e. Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, F. Beaumont's *Salmacis and Hermaphroditus*, and John Marston's *Pigmalion's Image*) in stanza L, and to the afternoon theatres, in stanzas LXII-LXVI, are especially interesting. With line 224, compare, "Whose mother was her *Painting*," in *Cymbeline*, iii. 4, where *painting* means toilet rouge.

² It is this Remonstrance, and the knowledge of a true and pure affection lost to her for ever on this side of the grave, that works Amanda's conversion. In modern days the same story is listened to, when accompanied with music and glitter, by royalty, nobility, and gentry, youth, fashion, and beauty, in Verdi's "*La Traviata*." But we have the stern reality in the *Amanda* poem of 1635.

Amanda,

The Remonstrance against her evil life, from one who
had loved her while he esteemed her pure and modest.



To the Fair Amanda.

I.

BOLD of thy promise, and obliged word,
From which I doe presume thou wilt not start :
Whereby thou didst so willingly afford
Acceptance of my lines with gentle heart,
And what I write to take it in good part.
This is one ground that moves me to discover
My will to thee, then freely read it over.

7

II.

But looke not here for pleasant tales of love,
Nor sycophanticke speech to please thy sence :
No lines encomiasticke thee to move,
Nor oyl words of gilded eloquence.
My humble Muse avoyds such eminence.
I doe not strive to please thee, yet well know,
I am a friend of thine, and not a foe.

14

III.

My purpose is, to call thee to account
 How thou hast wasted thy fore passed time :
 Whether thy vertue doth thy vice surmount,
 And how thou conquer'st passion in thy prime :
 I must examine it, in this my rime.
 Nay ; start not backe, nor throw it now away,
 Thy word stands good against me, thou must stay. . . 21

VI.

For know (*Amanda*) to thy grieffe, even I
 Have pri'd into thy secret passages,
 And have observed with a watchfull eye
 Such as to thee come with Embassages,
 And understood their private messages.
 I know their suits, and whereunto they tend,
 And see destruction wait upon the end. . . . 28

XXI.

For when I first beheld that face of thine,
 I could not but commend the workes of nature :
 A looke so pleasing, as it were divine,
 Of a well fashion'd, and a comely feature.
 I thought thou wert an admirable creature,
 Adorn'd with such a presence, that I saw
 It well deserved reverence, and awe. 35

XXII.

O Lord, thought I, what pity is't that thou
 And those sweete beauties should be put to sale ?
 Why should they, unto every peasant how,
 Till they are worne out or [are] waxed stale :
 And their fresh colour turn'd into a pale ?
 Is't not a misery that such a woman
 Should as a thing of nought be usde in common ? 42

XXIII.

In pity therefore of thy wretched state,
 And meerey in compassion of that face,
 I vow'd my hest, thy life to renovate,
 And see if in thy brest there was a place
 That would give entertainment unto grace.
 For, doubtlesse, in my heart I should condole
 The losse of such a body and a soule. 49

XXIV.

Surely thou art not made for such a one,
 As now thou dost professe thy selfe to be.
 Keepe thou thy beauty unto thee alone,
 Rather then to be prodigally free,
 And let it live alone, and die in thee ;
 Before thou dost abuse it in this fashion,
 To prostitute it with such exprobatation. 56

XXV.

God which created thee of such a fashion,
As few there are with thee to parallell,
Thy friends, that added to it education,
Making that better, which before was well,
So that thou dost exceed those that excell.
Of that faire Image wilt thou be so evill,
To make a habitation for the divill? 63

XXVI.

What, is there no man living on the earth
That can deserve to have thy single love?
Cannot a true affection have a birth
Within thy brest, ill fancies to remove,
And thy unbridled lust for to reprove?
Is there no place for vertue left within thee;
Nor no meanes from thy wickednesse to win thee? 70

XXVII.

Oh, what a vile and hatefull thing it is
To all chaste eares for to be term'd a Whore!
The very name of such a thing as this
Is most contemptible to rich and poore:
And breeds a loathing in them euermore.
That terme me thinkes should thee from folly win,
If nothing else, and make thee loath the sinne. 77

XXVIII.

The very name will doubtlesse thee condemne,
Of all foule crimes, such poison in it lies,
Twill make all honest people thee contemne.
Thy selfe alone it doth not scandalize,
But Parents, kindred, and thy friends likewise.
Vnder that word is commonly comprized
The foulest evils that may be devised. 84

XXIX.

Call to remembrance wherefore thou wert made,
Not to serve sinne, but serve the living Lord.
How dar'st thou then of Whoredome make a trade;
And leade a life that is so much abhor'd:
Rejecting of his statutes and his word?
And make those giftes of his thine owne damnation,
Which were ordain'd to further thy salvation. 91

XXX.

He first created thee to be the Temple,
Aud habitation of the Holy Ghost.
And made thee perfect, fit for an example,
And wilt thou loue him least, that lou'd thee most,
And strive to be one of the sheepe that's lost?
Hast thou no power to curbe thy fond desire,
But headlong runn'st into damnation's fire? 98

XXXI.

Consider well the way that thou art going,
 And looke into the steps that thou hast trod.
 Make not such haste unto thine owne undoing :
 Thinke with thy selfe, ther's an all-seeing God,
 That will correct thee with his scourging rod,
 And hath ordain'd a hell from the beginning,
 For such as unrepentant live in sinning. 105

XXXII.

What dost thou onely trust unto thy face,
 And thinke thy beauty will acquite thy guilt ?
 Art thou growne shameles, and cleane voyd of grace ?
 Running aginst all modesty a tilt,
 Vntill the beauty of thy soule be spilt ?
 Will no persuasion, nor no councill winne thee,
 Nor feare of God, nor morall vertue in thee ? 112

XXXIII.

Oh ! wicked, and thrice wicked wantonnesse,
 Accursed wretch, shame to virginity.
 Thy breath doth blast the ayre, thou dost digresse
 From all religion, stain'st divinity.
 Twixt thee, and it, ther's no affinity.
 Poyson thou drink'st, with affectation,
 And spin'st the thred of condemnation. 119

XXXIV.

Looke on thy selfe, and let thy inward thought
 Exsmine well thy outward action.
 Give not away that which was deerely bought,
 Confound not reason with distraction,
 Nor in thy senses make a frsction.
 Let not thy conscience be distended so,
 Nor smother vertue, where it ought to grow. 126

XXXV.

Looke backe into thy selfe, and call to minde
 How thou hast spent the Aprill of thy dsies,
 Thinke how thou hast beene heretofore enclinde,
 And then consider of thy present waies :
 And see if those or these deserveth praise.
 And then looke forward to the times to come,
 And see what Furies wait upon thy doome. 133

XXXVI.

Or, if thou think'st it be too hard a taske,
 To call thy selfe to strict examination :
 Then give me leave thy follies to unmaske,
 And see if I can breed a detestation
 Of sinne in thee, and worke a reformation.
 I will not sooth thee in thy impious course,
 But strive to make thee better, and not worse. 140

XXXVII.

Hear then what I shall tell thee without faining,
And read the legend of thy wicked life.
Thou art a woman from no ill abstaining,
And neither art a widow, mayd, nor wife :
Dull in all vertue, but in vice most rife.
Full of deceit, and of dishonest tricks,
A shame unto thy selfe, and to thy sex. 147

XXXVIII.

See how all honest women doe abhorre thee,
Scorne thy acquaintance, and thy hase society.
Where civill meetings are, they care not for thee,
But blush to hear of thy impiety,
Offending of so high a Deity.
Thou canst not fit their mirth, nor yet their moanings,
Nor art thou for their churchings or their groanings. 154

XXXIX.

No civill Gossips feasts will thee invite,
Nor honest Bridall claime thee as a guest :
Grave modest Matrons loathe thy very sight ;
And virgin damsels doe thy course detest.
Thy sensuall life, more brutish then a beast,
That prostitutes thy body thus in common,
Makes thee unworthy to be call'd a woman. 161

XL.

Consider how thy whoredome is attended
With many dismall, blacke, and fearefull sinnes ;
Whereby the high Creator is offended.
Thy drunkennesse, and gluttony, two twins
To serve thee at thine elbo, straight begins :
Next these, with bloody oathes, thy fearefull swearing
And execrations, hell nor heaven fearing. 168

XLI.

And then thy scurrilous, and idle speaking ;
With words obscene, and bestly language using.
Thy wilfull, and continuall Sabbath breaking :
God's holy Name unreverently abusing,
And all religious and good men accusing.
With these, dissembling, cheating, theeving, pride,
A lying tongue, and all ill else beside. 175

XLII.

This is the sinfull family thou keapest :
And these waite on thee at thy bed, and bord.
With these thou wakest, and with these thou sleepest ;
Their absence at no time thou canst afford.
They wait thy pleasure, and obey thy word,
And while each banquets with thee as thy guest
Thy whoredome sits as mistris of the feast. 182

XLIII.

The furniture that doth adorne thy chamber
 Are pictures of some famous Courtezan.
 Here stands a boxe of Bracelets, Pearle, and Amber,
 There by a watchet Riband hangs thy Fan:
 And next to that a brazen Warming-pan.
 By these within a Band-case lies thy Ruffe:
 And next to that thy Brush, and then thy Muffe. 189

XLIV.

Neere to thy chamber-window stands thy bed:
 Curtaines and Vallens hnsing faire about it,
 Which with a Rug, or Quilt, is covered.
 Sometimes within it, and sometimes, without it,
 There doth thou dance carrantos, who needs doubt it?
 And daily vawling for to use thy trade,
 Thou quickly spoyl't the fashion when 'tis made. 196

XLV.

At windowes end, are certaine glasses set,
 Fill'd with rare water for to make thee faire.
 At tother end, lockt in a Cabinet,
 Are dainty powders for thy hands, and hayre;
 White prick-seam'd Gloves of Kid, full many a paire;
 With them are bags of precious sweete perfume;
 And Masticke patches for to stay the rheume. 203

XLVI.

At thy beds feete doth stand thy Trunke below:
 On which there are two letters for thy nme.
 Thy lace, and dressing there thou dost bestow;
 And in a painted boxe (Oh! fie for shame)
 Thou put'st thy playster, and there keep'et the same.
 And in another, likewise out of sight,
 Thy Mallow rootes to make thy teeth look white. 210

XLVII.

Here likewise lies thy gorgets made of Lawne:
 Hard by, upon a nayle against the wall,
 Doth hang thy Gownes, save those that are at pawne.
 With them, thy Petty-cotes, and Waste-cotes all:
 Neere unto them, because the roome's but small,
 Wrapt in a paper, next unto thy Bever,
 As light as thou thy selfe, doth hang thy Fether. 217

XLVIII.

Not farre from these doth stand all in a row
 A box with curles, and counterfeited haire,
 Flaxen, browne, yellow, some ss black's a Crow.
 Just under these doth stand thy groaning-chaire,
 And close by it of Chamber-pots a paire.
 Then next thy bed, upon another shelve,
 There stands a Pot of painting for thy selfe. 224

XLIX.

By that, within a glasse, doth stand a Potion
 To cleare thy atomacke, and make sweet thy breath.
 And then a heape of bookes of thy devotion,
 Lying upon a shelve close underneath,
 Which thou more think'st upon then on thy death.
 They are not prayers of a grieved soule,
 That with repentance doth his sinnes condole : 231

L.

But amorous Pamphlets, that best likea thine eyes,
 And Songs of love, and Sonets exquisit.
 Among these *Venus*, and *Adonis* lies,
 With *Salmacis*, and her *Hermaphrodite* :
Pigmalion's there, with his transform'd delight.
 And many merry Comedies, with this,
 Where the *Athenian Phryne* acted is. 238

LI.

Two casements to thy window alwaies are,
 One of the which stands open very wide,
 Where thou present'st thy face, unmaskt, and bare :
 And if by chance thou hast a gallant ey'de,
 Passing the street, that hath not thee eapi'de,
 Thou hast a trick, which thou wilt seldome spare,
 To give him notice that thou standest there. 245

LII.

For with a clap, thou pull'at the casement too,
 That he may cast his eye up to the place,
 With tother hand thou dost the next undoe,
 And there againe present'st to him thy face ;
 And looking on him with a smiling grace,
 Thou let'st the gallant thereby understand,
 That thou art at his service, and command. 252

LIII.

Betweene those casements hangs a Christall glasse,
 Closde in a case Emboated faire with Gold,
 Where thou dost oft view, and review thy face,
 Spending whole houres thy picture to behold.
 Setting thy looke the best way to be sold.
 So turning round about, and walking then
 Once through the roome, com'at to the glasse agen. 259

LIV.

By this time, there is something sita awry,
 One locke is bigger then the other ia.
 That hangs too farre backe, this too neere thine eye.
 The pin upon thy band is set amissae :
 Thy lace worne so ia hansomer then this.
 Then thua it must be, and then thus, and thua :
 That Pendent's darke, this more perspicuous. 266

LV.

Thy swelling brests are not display'd enough,
 Pull them up higher, set thy dressing lower.
 Those strippings sute farre better with a Ruffe,
 Tother is layd aside, this used more :
 Thy Crosse-cloth is not pinned right before.
 Thus with thy tiffing, trimming, and thy mending,
 Thou spend'st whole houres together without ending. 273

[The verses next following tell of the Mistress of the house, Servants, and Doctor.]

LXII.

The places thou dost usually frequent,
 Is to some Play-house in an afternoone,
 And for no other meaning and intent
 But to get company to sup with soone :
 More changeable, and wavering then the Moone,
 And with thy wanton lookes, attracting to thee
 The amorous spectators for to wooe thee. 280

LXIII.

Thether thou com'st, in severall formes, and shapes,
 To make thee still a stranger to the place :
 And traine new lovers, like young Birds to scrapes ;
 And by thy habit, so to change thy face.
 At this time plaine, too-morrow all in lace.
 Now in the richest colours may be had,
 The next day, all in mourning blacke, and sad. 287

LXIV.

In a Stuffle Wastcote, and a Peticote,
 Like to a chamber-mayd, thou com'st to-day :
 The next day after thou dost change thy note,
 Then like a countrey wench, thou com'st in gray ;
 And sittest like a stranger at the Play.
 The morrow after that, thou comest then
 In the neate habit of a Citizen. 294

LXV.

The next time, rustling in thy Silken weeds, [orig., rushing.]
 Embroyder'd, lac't, perfum'd, in glittering show,
 So that thy lookes an admiration breeds,
 Rich like a Lady, and attended so,
 As brave as any Countesse dost thou goe.
 Thus *Proteus*-like strange shapes thou ventrest on,
 And changest hue, with the Cameleon. 301

LXVI.

The Play once ended, to some Taverne neere,
 Thou and thy Copes-mates presently resort,
 Where the best Wine and the most costly cheere
 Must be provided in the neatest sort,
 For thy choyce pallat, else thou car'st not for't.
 And when thou hast it, yet thou can'st not eate
 Without a noyse of Fidlers to thy meate. 306

“ *The poison’d fountain clears itself again.*”—Lucrece. *533

LVII.

There dost thou spend thy time, till almost day,
In drinking, dancing, and in beastly riot,
And never think’st it time to goe away,
Vntill some quarrell makes the house unquiet,
Or a large bill affrights thee for thy dyet.
The night thus spent, and morning’s neere approach,
Sends thee home tumbling in a tottering Coach. . . . 315

[After describing her public life, he tells of the punishments awaiting her, in her downfall: the insults in the streets, the Bridewell whippings and hemp-beatings, the death by hideous disease in poverty and desertion. He recalls the warning of noted Courtezans in earlier days, “the famous creatures of their time,” and their miserable ending: even like that Fair Helm-maker of Paris, whom, in 1450, the prince of ballad-singers, Villon, described. He urges her to escape at once:]

CLXXXIV.

For my sake therefore I adjure thee here,
To turn thy course and bend another way :
For thy friends’ sake, to whom thou shouldst be deere,
Come home unto thy selfe, and doe not stay.
For thine owne sake, I charge thee to obey,
And in compassion of that soul of thine,
Live not in darknesse when the sunne doth shine. 322

CLXXXV.

Pity thy yeeres, that are but young and tender,
Pity thy father’s care, thy mother’s love,
For thy sad kindred’s sorrow, pity render,
Let thy acquaintance some compassion move.
Looke not still downe, but raise thy thoughts above.
If no thing else prevaile, let feare of God
Worke thy conversion, and his threatning rod. 329

CLXXXVI.

Strive to regaine the honour thou hast lost,
And seeke thy ruin’d credit to repaire.
Thy conscience is benum’d with follie’s frost,
Let thy warme teares of sorrow thaw the ayre
That chills thy heart with nipping cold dispaire ;
And so dissolve thy crusty yce of sinne,
That hot repentance may let mercy in. . . . 336

CLXXXIX.

Then shall my prayers flie aloft with thine,
And my desires seeke earnestly thy blisse.
Thy happiness shall be to me as mine.
Thy godly sorrow, for thy life amisse,
Shall breed such joy, as none shall be like this.
The comfort that thy soule shall thereby taste,
Shall be a Crowne of Glory at the last. 343

[Next follows “The penitentiall answer of the reformed *Amanda*.” Like a good Samaritan, he befriends her. He provides a new home, under the tender care of his own mother and sister. Two years later, Amanda dies, contrite and in peace.]

Here ends all that was properly due to complete the "Bagford Collection;" except such duplicates of the *Bagford Ballads* as will hereafter appear in their own severally reserved places, among the other *Roxburghe Ballads*: hitherto edited by Mr. Wm. Chappell, undisputed Chief of living musicians and antiquaries in knowledge and love of "Old English Ditties," with the "*Popular Music of the Olden Time*." Our privilege is to follow him in the work of giving back to the world these old ballads; and thus, at his own urgent wish, enable him to devote his strength to a continuation of his noble *History of Music*, and also to a new edition of his *Popular Music of the Olden Time*.

Had it been necessary to extend this our *Amanda Group* beyond its present limits (which the Editor did not desire), we might have shown the Courtezanship, not only of Stuart times, but also during the reign of the Virgin Queen. The dramatic poets, the satirists, and epigram-writers have furnished an armoury of weapons against the prevailing immorality of both sexes. Such comedies as Beaumont and Fletcher's "Custom of the Country" betray a frightful looseness of morals. There were dark deeds scarcely veiled from espial in the time of James I., and the Somerset case was by no means solitary. Of less tragic sin, of more vulgar profligacy, such comedies as Lodowick Barry's amusing "Ram-Alley; or, Merrie Tricks" (i.e. *Meretrix*: see *Bagford Ballads*, pp. 399, 400), give a distinct revelation. Our present work is a contribution of materials, to a study which requires to be made by historians and moralists. M. Paul Lacroix, although necessarily banishing "cette étude sur la Prostitution au Moyen Age" from his five magnificently illustrated volumes on the Middle Ages and the Eighteenth Century, has in a less-known work boldly faced the difficult subject, and adorned his pages with a number of interesting woodcuts, from contemporary pictures of courtezans and their dwellings. (We allude to the 300 pp. volume, "*De la Prostitution en Europe, depuis l'antiquité jusqu'à la fin du XVI^e Siècle, par M. Rabutaux, avec une bibliographie par M. Paul Lacroix: planches hors texte,*" etc., Paris: Alfred Duquesne, 1869.) Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor* tells, in the extra volume on "Those who will not work," some portion of the story belonging to the present day. The records of the beneficent Magdalen Asylum preserve a still more trustworthy chronicle of sin and of repentance, of widely-spread debauchery and ruin; but also of untiring and thrice-blessed efforts successfully made to draw back to the paths of virtue "out of the depths" those erring sisters who had fallen victims to man's depravity, their own evil passions, and the tempting counsels of their predecessors in vice.

§ 10.

Postscriptum.

“I am gone, Sir, And anon, Sir,
I'll be with you again.”—*Twelfth Night*, Act iv. sc. 2.

The Editor adds these final memorials, in hope of thus attaching them with least delay to their proper volumes: *The Bagford Ballads*. They not inappropriately follow the *Amanda Group*.

Already, after a few months of interval, many other of the hidden secrets of the Bagford Collection have unveiled themselves to our search. Thus, very few of the 301 ballads mentioned in *Thackeray's 1685 List* (which we reprinted and annotated on pp. LIV-LXXVIII of our Introduction to the *Bagford Ballads*) are any longer a mystery. It is surely something gained by this demonstration that, out of 301 “stock ballads” of the year 1685 (in the month of April or May), all but six of them are safely preserved to this day, although generally in a single exemplar: and even these undiscovered six ballads we by no means give up as lost. One by one, we hope to track them down, and furnish a complete “Annotated List.” Meanwhile, we give details of twenty-two more certainly-identified ballads: numbered in accordance with our expanded List, on pp. LXVII to LXXVIII of the *Bagford Ballads* Introduction:—

Twenty-two Additional Identifications of the Ballads mentioned in Thackeray's List, 1685.

[N.B.—The Numbers are those attached in *Bagford Ballads* Introduction. The small type adds the first line, with *place of Ballad Collection marked in italics.*]

- | | | |
|------|--|-------------------------------|
| 136. | <i>West-Country Wooing</i> [; or, <i>Merry Conceited Couple</i>]. | |
| | My joy and only dear, come, sit down by me. | <i>Rozb. Coll.</i> , ii. 498. |
| 137. | <i>Trapann'd Taylor</i> [; or, <i>A Pretty Discovery</i>]. | |
| | Come hear a song and a very fine song. | <i>Pepys Coll.</i> , iii. 74. |
| 143. | <i>Politick Beggars-Man</i> , [who got the love of, etc.] | |
| | There was a jovial Beggars-man. | “ ” iii. 73. |
| 151. | <i>The King's last speech</i> [at his time of execution]. | |
| | I come, my blessed Saviour. | “ ” ii. 203. |
| 161. | <i>No Money, no Friend</i> . | |
| | All you that freely spend your Coyn. | “ ” iv. 255. |
| 166. | <i>Love without Measure</i> . [Title, and name of tune.] | |
| | Late in the Country, as I was walking. | “ ” iii. 1. |

171. Dying Tears [for Henry, Duke of Gloucester].
Great are the wonders that our God hath done. *Ewing Coll.*, 65.
177. *Dick* the Miller's Son. [Ill-gotten Goods seldom thrive.]
A lustie Countrie Lad. *Roxb. Coll.*, iii. 237.
181. Seaman's Wife's [Ranting] Resolution.
My good man is gone to Sea. *Pepys Coll.*, iv. 168.
189. *Will* and *Moll* [= *Willy* and *Molly*].
Says *Billy* to *Molly*. „ „ iii. 34.
194. Come turn to me, thou pritty little one.
Sweet, if thou wilt be, as I am to thee. *Roxb. Coll.*, iii. 140.
201. Come let us drink, the times invites. [Loyal Subject.]
Come, let's drink, the time invites. *Rawlinson Coll.*, 566, 84.
207. To hold the buckle & thong together. [Burden and tune.]
A young man and a pretty maid. *Pepys Coll.*, iv. 99.
211. [Down-] Fall of Pride.
In *London* liv'd a wealthy Merchant's Wife. „ „ ii. 59.
224. Valiant Trooper and Beggar [*i.e.* Pretty *Peggy*].
Heard you not of a Valiant Trooper? „ „ iv. 40.
246. [The Sweet Salutation on] Primrose-hill.
In the pleasant month of *May*. „ „ iii. 53.
247. *William* and *Jane* [=Loving Lad and Coy Lass.]
All hail, thou bright and bonny Lass. *Roxb. Coll.*, ii. 310.
252. *John* and *Betty*, or the vertue of Cherry-stones.
Now the weather grows warm. *Pepys Coll.*, iii. 52.
255. Green-sickness [Grief. Entered in *Stat. Reg.*, 1629.]
Come, come, my sweet and bonny one. *Ewing Coll.*, 125.
268. *Hugh Hill* and *Sarah*. [=Dying Tears of a Lover.]
Those gentle hearts that true love crave. *Roxb. Coll.*, ii. 126.
280. Bugle Bow [or, A Merry Match at Shooting].
Upon a time it chanced so. *Pepys Coll.*, iii. 118.
290. Wounded Lovers [or, Love's Powerful Dart].
Mythinks I feel fresh bleeding wounds. „ „ ii. 381.

THERE STILL REMAIN TO BE FOUND:—

127. *Jenny*, my Hand-maid.
165. With a hah, hah, hah, thou wilt undo me. [Burden?]
175. I'd give a £1000 thou wert in *Shrewsbury*. [Burden?]
187. Bacon and Beans.
203. *Nell* and *Harry*.
229. The Love in Joy my Heart.

The other two hundred and ninety-five are found and identified by the Editor: not guess-work, but certainties. He hopes to unearth some of these hidden six.

Page 41. Since our *Bagford Ballads* were completed, the volume of *Sonets and Histories*—*A Handefull of Pleasant Delites*, 1584, has been reprinted by Mr. Edward Arber, and issued as No. 3 of his *English Scholars' Library*, pp. xvi.+64, on 15th August 1879. He duly acknowledges and separately reprints our treasure-trove of the single leaf from (probably) 1565 edition, which yielded valuable corrections.

Pages 46 and 556 (but, for true tune, see 1002). In Pepys Collection, V. 5, is an earlier edition of the white-letter ballad, “Captain [Sir John] Johnson’s Last Farewell: who was arraigned for being assisting in the stealing a young Heiress [*Mary Wharton*], for which he received sentence of Death, and was accordingly Executed at *Tyburn*, the 23rd of this instant December, 1690. To the Tune of, *Russel’s Farewell*,” with two lines of music, and burden: *The Laws are most severe*. Printed for C. Bates, near the Crown Tavern in West Smithfield. It begins, “You noble Lords of high degree,” and will be reprinted in *Roxburghe Ballads*, with the music: instead of from the Newcastle edition, Roxb. Coll., III. 786. Another Pepysian ballad, on following page of Vol. V., is “Captain Johnson’s Love’s Lamentation, for the untimely death of her dear Intire Friend.” Same tune and publisher. It begins, “Here to the world I do declare.”

“*Mopsaphil*” is the tune named, on p. 68, for our Bagford Ballad, “A new Dialogue between Alice and Betrice,” of 1685–88.

Long time it eluded our search, but we have found it at last. The choice lay betwixt two:

1. Of same date (being, like our “Alice and Betrice,” licensed by Robert Pocock), we have a Pepysian Ballad, entitled “The Two Monstrous Lovers; or, The Most Admirable Wooing betwixt *Nincompoop* and *Mopsaphil*. To an excellent new Tune, much in request.” Printed (with four lines of music) for P. Brooksby, at the Golden Ball, etc. It begins, “Ah, my pritty *Mopsaphil!* no living Tongue can tell thee.” (Pepys Coll., V. 271.)

2. Another Pepysian Ballad invited us, in the same volume (Pepys Coll., V. 190): “An excellent New Song; or, No Kissing at all. In a dialogue between *Coridon* and *Mopsaphil*, as it was sung in a late Opera at the Theatre Royal. To an excellent new Tune” (four lines of music given). London: Printed by E. M. for J. Deacon, at the Angel in Guiltspur-street. It begins, “Now the Maids and the Men are making of hay.” As to the late Opera, it was “The Fairy Queen,” an adaptation of “A Midsummer Night’s Dream,” with music by Henry Purcell, acted at the Haymarket, and pñnted in 4to., 1692. We find the original dialogue, as sung by Mr. Reading and Mrs. Ayliff, in Purcell’s *Orpheus Britannicus*, 1698, Book 1st, p. 232.

A Dialogue in "The Fairp Queen."

- He.* NOW the Maids and the Men are making of hay,
We've left the dull fools, and are stolen away :
Then, *Mopsa*, no more be coy as before,
But let's merrily, merrily play.
And kiss, and kiss, and kiss the sweet time away. 5
- She.* Why how now, Sir Clown, what makes you so bold ?
I'd have ye to know I'm not made of that mould.
I tell you again, and again, Maids must never kiss no men.
No, no, no, no, no ; no kissing at all ;
I'll not kiss, till I kiss you for good and all. 10
- He.* Not kiss at all. *She.* No, no kissing at all, etc.
- He.* Should you give me a score, 'twould not lessen your store,
Then bid me cheerfully kiss, and take my fill of the bliss.
- She.* I'll not trust you so far, I know you too well,
Should I give you an Inch, you'd soon take an Ell. 15
Then, Lord like, you'd rule, and laugh at the Fool,
No, no, no, no, no ; no kissing at all.
I'll not kiss you at all, till I kiss you for good and all.
- He.* So small a request, you must not, you cannot, you shall not deny :
Nor will I admit of another reply. 20
- She.* Nay, what do you mean ? *He.* You must not deny !
She. Nay, what do you mean ? O fie, fie, fie, fie.

Evidently this is not our required *Mopsaphil*, the metre being different, and no reasonable doubt exists that the first-named ballad, of 1685-88, is the one for our purpose. Hereafter we hope to give the music, in the *Roxburghe Ballads*.

The damsel, *Mopsaphil* of 1692, is prudently cautious. She shows so wary a guard that we are reminded of another Lass whose experience had not been purchased cheaply.

The Shepherd and the Milkmaid.

THE TUNE IS, *The Fourth Figure Dance at Mr. Young's Ball.*

- I'LE tell you a Tale of my Love and I,
How we did often a milking goe ;
And when I look't merrily, then she would cry,
And still in her fits she would use me so. 4
At last I plainly did tell her my mind,
And then she began to love me ;
I ask'd her the cause of her being unkind ?
She said, It was only to prove me ! 8
- I then did give her a kiss or two,
Which she return'd with interest still ;
I thought I had now no more to do,
But that with her I might have my will. 12
But she, being taught by her crafty Dad,
Began to be cautious and wary ;
And told me. When I my will had had,
The Devil a bit I would marry. 16

So marry'd we were, and when it was o'er,
I told her plain, in the Parsonage Hall,
That if she had gi'n me my will before,
The Divell a bit I'de a marry'd at all. 20
She smil'd, and presently told me her mind :
She had vow'd she'd never do more so,
Because she was cozen'd (in being too kind)
By three or four men before so. 24

We leave it an open question whether it were an advantage for a girl to have such judicious parents, and conform herself to their advice, when living at Lynn or elsewhere! (The date of this “Drollery” Mock-Song, not hitherto reprinted, is 1675.)

Page 71. See a better copy of the original woodcut (at right-hand), on p. 619 of *Roxb. Ballads*, vol. iii. The Bagford cut is reversed, and a poor imitation: the original probably perished in the Fire of 1666.

Page 138. Mr. William Chappell has since taken up the subject of David Mallock's disputed authorship of the “*William and Margaret*” ballad, in the Appendix to his third vol. of *Roxburghe Ballads*, 1880, pp. 667–676. The present Editor hopes to give “*Fair Margaret's Misfortune*,” at an early date.

We have now found the true “*Cookmaid's Tragedy*,” needed for our “*Answer*” (*Bagf. Ballads*, pp. 199, 947, and 948). The required ballad is in the Pepys Collection, V. 317, beginning, “O treacherous Lovers, what do you intend?” Printed for J. Deacon, at the Angel, etc. The full title is “*The Cook-Maid's Tragedy; or, The Loyal Lovers Overthrow: being an Account of Mary, a Cook-Maid in Covent Garden; who poyson'd herself in Despair for the Love of Thomas, a Coachman. To the Tune of, If Love's a sweet passion.*” So *Mary Story of Limehouse*, and the *Andover Mary*, had nothing to do with the matter. This is satisfactory to know, after all anxieties.

Also of the “*Whitefriars Captain*,” Francis Winter, whose “*Sorrowful Ditty*” we gave on p. 236 (compare pp. 230, 235 and *Prefatory Notice to the Second Division*, p. xviii): we have two additional ballads to mention. 1st. “An excellent new Song, call'd, *Captain Winters last Farewell to the World; or, His Mourfull parting with his Wife and Children, who [i.e. Winter, not his family] was Executed in Fleet Street, May 17th, 1693. Tune of, All happy times.* Printed and sold by T. Moore, 1693.” It begins, “*Good People that do see my End.*”

2nd. “A Letter, to satisfie all persons that *Winter* is not fled from *Newgate*, as it was falsely Reported, but is still remaining there, and may be seen or spoke with, from Morning till Night. To the Tune of, *Let Mary live long.* Licensed according to Order. Printed for Philip Brooksby, J. Deacon, J. Blare, and J. Back,”

1693. It begins, "There is a report," etc. This probably preceded our "Sorrowful Ditty." He is the *Whitefriars Cub* of p. 496*.

The *Kentish Garland* announced by the Editor, on p. 286, as being prepared by him for publication, is personally relinquished; in order that it may be, instead, the work of a lady well fitted to do justice to it: his esteemed friend, Miss De Vaynes, of Updown, Isle of Thanet.

Pages 308-310. No earlier dated record of this "Mary Ambree" ballad has he found than in the Stationers' Registers of 20 March, 1628, to 20 June, 1629, when it is entered to "Francis Coules and the partners in these ballades" (*Transcript*, iv. 216): not necessarily new, but probably kept in stock as a favourite. Compare introduction to "Lord Willoughby," *Roxb. Ballads*, iv. pp. 4 to 7. Some of the woodcuts are common to both ballads.

Page 397. There may have been a few changes made in the "Michaelmas-Term" ballad, such as we see it, after the Restoration. But it was certainly in existence so early as 1633, being entered to John Wright and partners, "since the 30th of July, 1632, to the 8th of July, 1633." (*Transcript*, iv. 299.) This is important, in dating the description of legal habits.

Moreover, we have now got all the particulars of "A Job for a Journeyman Shoo-maker" (our p. 450), which will illustrate "Tom the Taylor near the Strand" (*Roxb. Coll.*, II. 263). The original "Job for a Journey-man Shoo-maker," is a ballad beginning, "A Seaman's Wife, a buxom dame;" to which there are two sequels, one commencing, "At length the Seaman he came home." To this follows, "All you that are willing right merry to be." The tune was identical with that of "Tom the Taylor" (compare p. 603).

Page 475. The correct identification of Thackeray's List, No. 268, is this: "Hugh Hill and Sarah"=*Roxb. Coll.*, II. 226, "The Dying Tears of a true Lover Forsaken," which will be reprinted soon, in vol. iv. of *Roxburghe Ballads*.

Page 498. A sequel to "Amintas and Claudia" begins, "Clear was the morning and azure the skie." To same tune. Printed for J. Clarke (*Douce Coll.*, I. 9). We may give it hereafter.

As to James Whitney (of our pp. 556 to 561, and pp. xvii and xviii of *Second Division Introduction*), another ballad is forthcoming. It is entitled "Whitney's Dying Letter to his Mistress that betray'd him: With her Answer. Giving a full account how through excess of Grief and Mallancholy she stabled Herself. To the Tune of, Whitney's Farewell [*i.e.* our *Bagford Ballad*, p. 559]. Printed by J. W. [John Wallis] near White-Friers Gate, 1692." It begins, "False Wretch, why would thou thus betray." 2. Another ballad is entitled, "The Penitent Robber;

or, The Woeful Lamentation of Captain *James Whitney*, on the morning of his Execution, which was on the first of February, 1693.” Tune of, *Russel's* last Farewel. Printed for J. Bissel and C. Bates. It begins, “Let honest Christians now attend,” Pepys Coll., V. 9.

All these are extant, and may hereafter be given complete.

Readers of our p. 800, who desire to learn more about St. Loye, and how he came to be considered the Patron Saint of Farriers, cannot do better than turn to sheet sign. D. of Caxton's *Golden Legend*. It is one of the *Holbein Society's Fac-simile Reprints*, with an Introduction by Alfred Aspland, Editor, 1878.

Page 932. Music of “Do not rumple my Top-Knot,” is in the 1706 edit. of *Pills*, and vi. 64, 1719. Also in Essex Hawker's ballad-opera, *The Wedding*, 1729.

Page 973. We have found the woodcut of Time bearing a wallet, with Romish-Church ornaments, in an Anti-Papal Civil-War Tract, dated Oct. 26, 1644.

Page 976. Another such conditionally-prophetic ballad, announcing the return of Popery, is in Pepys Coll., II. 280, “The Country-man's Prophecy.” It begins, “All you that strange prophecies,” etc.

Page 1008. “Britain's Vallour” was entered to Master Matthews on the 21st January, 163 $\frac{3}{4}$, in the Stationers' Registers. (*Transcript*, iv. 312.)

We are able to give the original “Lass of Lynn” ballad here, the one mentioned on p. *477. It was difficult to obtain this in time. We could not rest content until it was restored to readers of the other portions, already reprinted among the *Bagford Ballads*. We had on p. 463 expressed “a suspicion that there was another song, which either gave a slightly different commencement, or else followed immediately after this [*Pills to Purge Melancholy* song] “On *Brandon* Heath, in sight of *Methwold* steeple;” for the tune and rhythm are thereafter changed, agreeing now [in “I am the young Lass of *Lynn*,” p. 463] with our Bagford Ballad [“Come listen, and hear me tell,” etc., p. 466]; and it seems clearly indicated that the burden of it was ‘Marry, and thank you too.’” Our suspicion was correct, and the missing ballad now meets us on next page, reprinted from the unique original.

There is coarseness in the ballad; but it is a necessary portion of the story of female wrong and female ruin which we have ventured to tell in these pages. It is of no use affecting ignorance or blindness, as to the share in their own destruction worked by the evil passions and wantonness of some women. The Lass of Lynn brought her sorrows on herself.

[Pepys Collection, V. 398.]

The Thankful Country Lass ;

Or,

The Jolly Batchelor kindly entertained.

TUNE OF, *I am so sick of Love.* Licensed according to Order.

- I.
I MET with a Country Lass,
and thus I began to woove,
" Shall I lay thee upon the Grass ?"
" *I, marry, and thank you too !*" 4
- II.
" And shall I embrace thee then,
as Lovers are wont to do ?"
Her Answer was to me agen,
" *I, marry, [and thank you too].*" 8
- III.
" Wilt thou give me leave," I said,
" to dally a while with you,
And make a Mother of a Maid ?"
" *I, marry, [and thank you too].*" 12
- IV.
" In case I am loath to live,
as marry'd men often do ;
Yet wilt thou take what I can give ?"
" *I, marry, [and thank you too].*" 16
- V.
" My dear, to enjoy the bliss,
I crave but this hoon of you,
To give me leave to court and kiss."
" *I, marry, [and thank you too].*" 20
- VI.
" Give me thy Virginity,
and thou shalt have mine in lieu :
You may have what you please of me."
" *I, marry, [and thank you too].*" 24
- VII.
" But what if thy Belly swell ;
my dearest, now tell me true,
Wilt thou be free to take it well ?"
" *I, marry, [and thank you too].*" 28
- VIII.
" I'll get thee a Champion Boy,
and will thy pleasures renew,
If I thy charms may but enjoy."
" *I, marry, [and thank you too].*" 32
- IX.
" My Jewel and heart's delight,
if that thy Lodging I knew,
I'll come and lye with thee all night,
" *I, marry, [and thank you too].*" 36
- X. [She replies :]
" I live in the Town of *Lynn*,
next door to the *Ancher* hlew ;
Come night or day, I'll let you in,
" *I, marry, [and thank you too].*" 40
- XI.
" I never intend to wed,
for fear my heart should rue ;
Yet shall I have thy Maiden-head ?"
" *I, marry, [and thank you too].*" 44
- XII.
She made not the least demur,
While he did kiss and woove,
But took what e'er he proffer'd her,
" *I, marry, and thank you too !*" 48

Printed for *J[ames] Bissel*, at the *Bible and Harp*, near the *Hospital-gate*, in
West-Smithfield.

[In white-letter, with two lines of music (to be given hereafter in *Roxb. Ballads*).
Date certainly before 1689, for there are dated ballads of that year, with the tune
marked "I marry and thank you too." "I am so sick of Love" is in the Pepys
Collection, V. 334.]

After this, the story that these verses foreshadow fulfils itself in the ballads already printed, in "The Lass of Lynn" group at end of First Division of *Bagford Ballads*. As Mephistopheles chucklingly declared, in the Anglo-French "Faust and Marguerite" of Charles Kean's time: "It's all down-hill now!"

We do not envy the feelings of any person who carps at the limited reprint of these poems and ballads, now consolidated under the title of *The Amanda Group*. There are some ill-conditioned people in the world, no doubt, and more than a few, who affect to be scandalized at the mention of such impurity, folly, and wickedness as are incidentally displayed in the foregoing pages, for warning and reprobation, but never for the satisfaction of prurient curiosity. It is quite possible for robust natures to examine historical evidence of wickedness without becoming vitiated. Most of us have seen the result of cowardly timidity and sickly sentimentalism, or prudishness, in the increased imbecility of those emasculated nonentities who dare not examine beneath the surface of society, and who shrink from all honest pourtrayals of the world around them, or its bygone generations. Personally, we dislike dirt as much as any man or woman can do, but as students of history we are not afraid of crossing a gutter or digging through the clay soil: "A little water clears us of this deed." The Regius Professor of Modern History, Canon Stubbs, has written truly: "The roots of the present lie deep in the past, and nothing in the past is dead to the man who would learn how the present comes to be what it is." We cannot afford to forget the lessons which the experience of earlier times was intended to bequeath to us. We cannot shake off the burden of sorrows borne first by our forefathers; cannot disown them without injury to ourselves, beside the disgrace of ingratitude: "If orphaned, we are disinherited." Therefore, with these convictions, we are prepared to hold our course unshrinkingly, defying dangers of evil misconstruction, in the editing of historical documents—even old ballads, political pasquinades, satires, and epigrams; if only they can yield us trustworthy knowledge of the past, to guide us to a better employment of the present time.

We need not pay attention to cavils of those whose narrow minds and cold hearts refuse to accept tuition from such records as the Ballad Society laboriously reproduces. Their ignorance and presumption is of the kind thus described:—

"I saw no use in the Past; only a scene
Of degradation, imbecility,
The record of disgraces best forgotten,
A sullen page in human chronicles
Fit to erase. I saw no cause why man
Should not be all-sufficient even now."

Alas for us! if such views, the crudities of rash and undisciplined minds, were to prevail. The destruction of all that is venerable would soon follow. But there is better hope in the conservatism of whatever deserves to be maintained.

“Not so, dear child
 Of after-days, wilt thou reject the Past,
 Big with deep warnings of the proper tenure
 By which thou hast the earth: the Present for thee
 Shall have distinct and trembling beauty, seen
 Beside that Past’s own shade; whence, in relief,
 Its brightness shall stand out:
 But thou shalt painfully attain to joy,
 While hope and fear and love shall keep thee man.”

It will surely be of service to students in England and in America, to all who dwell remote from the British Museum, Oxford, and Cambridge, if we can in three years’ time *complete* the other half of the *Roxburghe Ballads Collection*. The material before us, awaiting speedy reproduction, is full of value to minds able to use such wealth. It should appeal to fresh subscribers, for it is virtually

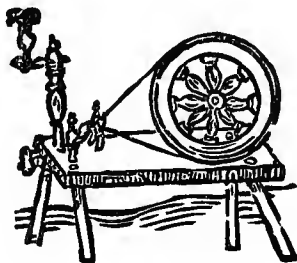
The Second Series of the Roxburghe Ballads.

Among others forthcoming, are several nautical ditties by Laurence Price, and good-fellowship warnings by hearty John Wade, by Thomas Lanfiere, L. White, J. P., etc., writers whom we have met in our *Bagford Ballads*. Additional separate lists of all their known extant works we hope to give, in the good time coming, “gin we’re spared!” as our Scotch friends say.

Meanwhile, we whisper to our readers and our fellow-member ballad-lovers—not *Good-Bye!* but *Au Revoir!*

J. W. EBSWORTH.

MOLASH VICARAGE, BY ASHFORD, KENT.
 December 11, 1879.





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And so at one stroke end my wo? etc.

(J. Payne's, *Villon Society*, 1878, No. 33.)

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On the Coast of Ballad-Land.

(Roxburghe Cliffs and Lighthouse seen ahead.)

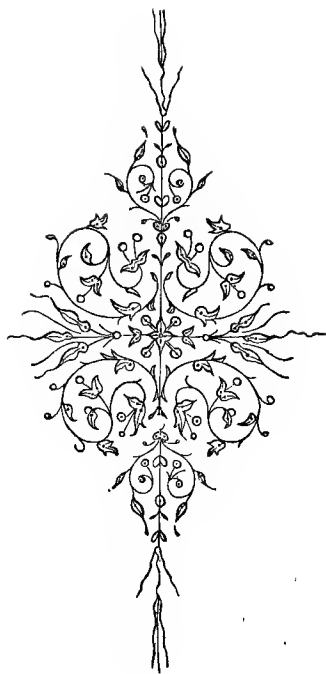


*W*E went on a cruise to Ballad-Land,
When the world was all before us ;
We ran our light skiff on its shingly strand,
And were hail'd with hearty chorus.
There were sounds of wailing from over the sea,
With welcome from Fisher-lasses ;
And the 'long-shore thieves sang out jollily,
While they tippled, and clink'd their glasses.

*Oh many a time, in the years since then,
Have we sail'd in the same direction ;
And now we are piloting other men
To the wealth of each Ballad Collection.
Sometimes we cast net in the treacherous waves,
(All is fish, that our grapnel catches ;)
Sometimes we drift, shuddering, over the graves
Where the ghost of the Old-time watches.*

*" Come hither, and dig in these mines of gold !"
" Come hither, and gather flowers !"
" Come, hearken what grief made hearts turn cold !"
" Come, sport thro' the joyous hours !"
These, these are the voices we hear, from the beach,
With their siren invitations :
We yield to the spell, and strive to reach
All the wealth of the Ballad-nations.*

*Right onward we steer, and nothing we fear,
Should the Philistine threaten mischief :
We sharpen our cutlass and raise a cheer,
For we'll very soon flagellate his chief.
Let Puritans snivel, and Prudes look glum,
We laugh at Conventicle strictures :
If our voyage speed fair, we shall homeward come
Rich in Ballads, in friends, and pictures.*



HERTFORD:
PRINTED BY STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS.

Captain Cox, his Ballads and Books;

OR,

Robert Laneham's Letter,

A.D. 1575.

*Publication
No 7.*

Captain Cox,

his Ballads and Books;

OR,

Robert Laneham's Letter:

Wherin part of the entertainment unto the Queen's Majesty
at Killingworth Castl, in Warwick Sheer in this Soomery
Progress 1575. is signified; from a freend officer
attendant in the Court, unto his freend, a
Citizen and Merchaunt of London.

RE-EDITED, WITH

FOREWORDS DESCRIBING ALL THE ACCESSIBLE BOOKS,
TALES, AND BALLADS, IN CAPTAIN COX'S LIST

AND THE

Complaynt of Scotland,

1548-9 A.D.,

BY FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL, M.A. CAMBR.

LONDON:

Printed for the Ballad Society,

BY TAYLOR AND CO., 10, LITTLE QUEEN STREET, W.C.

1871.

No. 7.

PRINTED BY TAYLOR AND CO.,
LITTLE QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON.

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CORRECTIONS.

- P. xii, line 26, *after* Cox's *add* list.
- P. xlviii, line 12, 13, *for* T. V. 3 Cr. (a compositor's misreading)
read Tamestrete, Vintre, thre Craned.
- P. lxxviii, *between lines 9 and 10 should have been a heading*
 "II. CAPTAIN COX'S BOOKS OF PHILOSOPHY AND
 POETRY."
- P. 24, *notes*, l. 4, *for* raine *read* traine.

FOREWORDS.

WHEN turning from the England of 1303, from Arthurian Legends and the Holy Grail, from Poems on the Virgin and Christ, to the later Ballads of the Percy Folio, I was faced at every turn by CAPTAIN COX. 'This was in Captain Cox's Library; this wasn't in Captain Cox's list; Captain Cox didn't mention the other:' nothing could be settled without reference to Captain Cox. Either having forgotten this famous man, or never having heard of him before, when I evidently ought to have known his name as well as Shakspeare's, I felt extremely humbled at my ignorance; I at once looked him out in the British Museum Catalogue, and several Biographical Dictionaries, but could find nothing about him. At last I was obliged to submit to the further humiliation of asking (with many apologies) a ballad-loving friend, who this Captain Cox was. My friend referred me to *Laneham's Letter*; and there the great Captain stood revealed to me. The foremost figure in English Story-book and Ballad history the valiant Coventry mason is; and in so bright a picture of merry outofdoor Elizabethan life is he set in *Laneham's Letter*, that on starting the Ballad Society, I resolved to re-edit the Letter, with Captain Cox's name at the head of it, in order, if possible, to bring him into more prominence.

Though we must admit that the Captain was not the first person in Laneham's mind when he wrote his letter, still, it is for the lists of Captain Cox's story-books and ballads that reference has, in our days, been most frequently made to the tract. Walter Scott's 'Kenilworth' revived interest in it for the last generation, and led to its reprint then; Mr. George Adler's 'Amye Robsart and the Earl of Leicester' has led to its reprint now, since my own was in type. The Rev. E. H. Knowles of Abbey Hill, Kenilworth, has just ready a fresh edition of it, with fine photographs of the ruins of the Castle, etc. Still, the merit of the Letter is great enough to justify its reproduction by any number of

people or societies, each from his or its own point of view, and with comments accordingly.

The Letter is written by one London mercer, Robert Laneham, to another, Master Humfrey Martin, and describes the visit of Queen Elizabeth to her favourite, and Laneham's patron, the Earl of Leicester, at Kenilworth Castle for nineteen days, from Saturday the 9th to Wednesday the 27th of July, 1575. The castle itself, its grounds and appointments, the pageants presented before the Queen, as well as an ancient minstrel with a solemn song, prepared for her, but not shown to her (pp. 36-42), are all described by Laneham with great gusto; but he has unluckily left out the last week of the fun, as he took such slender notes of what went on (p. 43).

Laneham is a most amusing, self-satisfied, rollicking chap. He tells us his history; that he went to school both at St. Paul's (Colet's school) and St. Anthony's (where Whitgift was), was in the fifth form, got through Æsop's Fables, read Terence, and began Virgil, then served Master Bomsted a Mercer in London, then traded in sundry countries—among others, 'in Frauns and Flaunders long and many a day' (p. 1)—and so gat languages, which helpt his Latin (p. 61). Leicester took him up,—for his ready tongue and merry ways, no doubt, as well as his knowledge of 'Langagez,'—gave him apparel, even from his own back, got him allowance in the stable, got him made Doorkeeper of the Council Chamber, helpt him in his liscense to import beans duty free, and let his father 'serve the stable,'—that is, as I suppose, supply it with grain and fodder—so that our worthy says "I go noow in my sylks, that els might ruffl in my cut canves [or poor men's clothes]: I ryde now a hors bak, that els many tizez mighte mannage it a foot: am knoen to their honors, & taken forth with the best, that els might be bidden to stand bak my self" (p. 57).

Laneham tells us besides how he spent his days at Kenilworth; and in this account, pages 58-61, the full character of the man comes out in a most amusing way. The reader should turn at once to the passages, and enjoy them: the "jolly & dry a mornings," the being "by & by in the bones of" any listener, or prier, the seating his friends, but "let the rest walk, a Gods name"; his airing his languages before the foreigners, being, "in afternoons & a nights . . . alwayez among the Gentlwemen,"

showing off before company, dancing, playing, singing, making eyes and sighs at Mistress —, whose name he won't tell, being able to "gracify the matters az well az the prowdest of them," give us the very man. "Stories I delight in," says he (p. 61); Music he loves: "take ye this by the way, that for the smal skyl iu muzik that God hath sent me, (ye kno it iz sumwhat) ile set the more by my self while my name iz Laneham; and grace a God! . A! muzik is a noble Art!" (p. 35). His patron Leicester was perfection in his eyes (pp. 56-8), and Kenilworth nearly Paradise (p. 48-53). He enjoyed the beautiful country round him (p. 2-3), revelled in all the show and bustle about him, delighted in the conceits of the pageants, rejoiced in the stag-huuts (p. 13, 16), thought the bear-baiting fine sport (p. 16-18), threw himself into the rough fun of the country bride-ale and Coventry play (p. 20, 26), quizzed the performers (p. 22-4), took off the old minstrel (p. 40), drank lots of good ale and wine (p. 8, 45), eat to his fill (p. 59); and in the best of spirits with everything about him, and especially with himself, the excellent Robert Laneham, gent., wrote this *Letter* about the whole affair to his friend Master Martin, one of the jovial set they both belonged to in London.

No doubt if there'd been a Superfine Review in his day, it would have called him a coxcomb, reproved him for his vulgarity, and perchance written an article on his "females," as its present representative has on our workingmen's wives and daughters in their holiday-excursions. For my part, I am content to take Robert Laneham and enjoy him as he is; and I only wish that twenty others like him had left us such genuine pictures of the country life and sports of Elizabeth's time. As for his writing so much about himself, I only wish my contemporaries would follow his example, and believe that posterity will enjoy what they write, as much as we do like bits in the writings of our predecessors. Let men *be themselves* in their writings, and let critics, and "unsuited-to-the-dignity-of-print," etcetera, be blowed!

But where is CAPTAIN COX all this while? Well, we're coming to him soon.

In order to make room for him, I have put an abstract of the amusements of each day of the Queen's visit in the *Contents*, above. She arrived at Kenilworth Castle on Saturday the 9th of July 1575. On her first Sunday, the forenoon was spent in "divine

seruis & preaching at the parish church," while in the afternoon—the place not being a People's Park, and there being no Mr. Ayrton to stop the bands playing dance-music, for fear her Majesty's scruples should be offended—"excellēt music of sundry swet instruments" was played, and "dancing of Lords and Ladiez, and oother worshipfull degrees" went on. The second Sunday, July 17, 1575, was St. Kenelm's day,—the saint and king who built¹ part of the Castle, and after whom it was called;—and advantage was taken of this anniversary to show the Queen some of the characteristic sports of the country, including especially the old historical Hock-Tuesday play of the men of Coventry—a town so famous for its Mysteries—commemorating the masacre of the Danes on Nov. 13, 1002, or June 8, 1042. In this latter, CAPTAIN COX appears. I therefore refer the reader to pages 20–26 of Laneham's tract, for a description of the acting of the Bride-ale—with our author's quizzical description of the performers, bridegroom, morris-dance, bridesmaids, cupbearer, bride, running at the Quintain, and general shindy following,—and proceed to reprint here the account of Captain Cox, giving a separate half-line and number to each of his tracts, etc.; then, with the help of Mr. Halliwell, Mr. Hazlitt,² Mr. Wm. Chappell, etc., I shall comment on the Captain's list of Story-Books and Ballads, describing each, so far as I can, in order to give my readers a view of the literature on which the reading members of the English middle-class in Elizabeth's time were brought up; and lastly, I shall contrast Captain Cox's with that of the books, ballads, and tunes known in Scotland in 1548 to the writer of the *Complaynt of Scotland*, adding also a few comments on this latter list, by the help of Leyden, etc. Here then is CAPTAIN COX:—

Captain Cox. But aware, kéep bak, make room noow, heer they cum! And fyrst, captin Cox, an od man I promiz yoo: by profession a Mason, and that right skilfull, very eunning in fens, and hardy az Gawin; for hiz tonsword hangs at his tablz éend: great ouersight hath he in matters of storie: For, az for

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| I. King Arthurz book. | VI. The knight of courtesy,
and the Lady Faguell. |
| II. Huon of Burdeaus. | VII. Frederik of Gene. |
| III. The foursons of Aymon. | VIII. Syr Eglamoor. |
| IV. Beuys of Hampton. | IX. Sir Tryamoor. |
| V. The squyre of lo degré. | |

¹ That is, is said to have built.

² The information as to old editions is nearly all taken from Mr. Hazlitt's *Handbook*.

- X. Sir Lamwell.
- XI. Syr Isenbras.
- XII. Syr Gawyn.
- XIII. Olyuer of the Castl.
- XIV. Lucre's and Eurialus.
- XV. Virgils life.
- XVI. The castle of Ladiez.
- XVII. The wido Edyth.
- XVIII. The King & the Tanner.
- XIX. Frier Rous.
- XX. Howleglas.
- XXI. Gargantua.
- XXII. Robinhood.
- XXIII. Adambel, Clim of the

- clough, & William of cloudesley.
- XXIV. The Churl & the Burd.
- XXV. The seauen wise Masters.
- XXVI. The wife lapt in a Morels skin.
- XXVII. The sak full of nuez.
- XXVIII. The seargeaunt that became a Fryar.
- XXIX. Skogan.
- XXX. Collyn clout.
- XXXI. The Fryar & the boy.
- XXXII. Elynor Rummung.
- XXXIII. The Nutbrooun maid.

With many moe then I rehearx héere: I beléene hee haue them all at hiz fingers endz.

Then, in Philosophy both morall and naturall, I think he be az naturally ouerseen: beside poetrie and Astronomie, and oother hid sciencez, as I may gesse by the omberty of hiz books: whear-of part az I remember,

- XXXIV. The Sheperdz kalender.
- XXXV. The Ship of Foolz.
- XXXVI. Danielz dreamz.
- XXXVII. The booke of Fortune.
- XXXVIII. 'Stans puer ad mensam.'
- XXXIX. The hy wey to the Spitol-house.
- XL. Iulian of Brainfords testament.
- XLI. The castle of Loue.

- XLII. The booget of Demaunds.
- XLIII. The hundred Mery talez.
- XLIV. The book of Riddels.
- XLV. The Seauen sororz of wemen.
- XLVI. The proud wiues Pater noster.
- XLVII. The Chapman of a peniworth of Wit.

Beside hiz auncient playz,

- XLVIII. Yooth & charitee.
- XLIX. Hikskorner.

- L. Nugize.
- LI. Impacient pouerty.

And héerwith,

- LII. Doctor Boords breuiary of health.

What should I rehearx heer, what a bunch of ballets & songs, all auncient: Az

- LIII. Broom broom on hil.
- LIV. So wo iz me begon, trolly lo.
- LV. Ouer a whinny Meg.
- LVI. Hey ding a ding.

- LVII. Bony lass vpon a gréen.
- LVIII. My bony on gaué me a bek.
- LIX. By a bank az I lay.

and a hundred more, he hath, fair wrapt vp in Parchment, and bound with a whipcord.

And az for Allmanaks of antiquitée (a point for Ephemerides) I wéene hee can sheaw from (LX) Iasper Laet of Antwarp vnto (LXI) Nostradam of Frauns, and thens vnto oour (LXII) John Securiz of Salsbury. To stay ye no longer héerin, I dare say hee hath az fair a library for théez sciencez, & az many goodly monuments both in proze & poetry, & at afternoonz can talk az much without book, az ony Inholder betwixt Brainford and Bagshot, what degreé soeuer he be.

Beside thiz, in the field a good Marshall at musters: of very great credite & trust in the toun héer, for he haz béen chozen Alecunner many a yéere,

when hiz betterz haue stond by: & euer quited himself with such estimation, az yet too the tast of a cup of Nippitate, his iudgment will be taken aboute the best in the parish, he hiz noze near so read.

Captain Cox cam marching on valiantly before, cléen trust, & gartered aboute the knée, all fresh in a veluet cap (master Golding had lent it him) floorishing with hiz tonswoord, and anothers fensmaster with him: thus in the foreward making room for the rest.

Of this happy custom of giving lists of the story-books known to the writer of a later book, we have plenty of early instances in English. The *Cursur o Worlde*, or *Cursor Mundi*, many Romances, Robert of Brunne, Chaucer, Lydgate, and others, practised it before Laneham. The latest list before Laneham that I have seen, is given by Mr. J. P. Collier—with what accuracy I am unable to judge—in his *Bibliographical Account*, i. 327, from ‘A Briefe and necessary Instruction etc., by E. D., 8vo, 1572: (I italicize the books that are also in Captain Cox’s list:)

Bevis of Hampton, Guy of Warwicke, *Arthur of the round table*, *Huon of Bordeaux*, *Oliver of the Castle*, *the foure sonnes of Amond*, *the witles devices of Gargantua*, *Howleglas*, *Esop*, *Robyn Hoode*, *Adam Bell*, *Frier Rushe*, *the Fooles of Gotham*, and a thousand such other.

Among the ‘such other’ are mentioned ‘tales of Robyn Goodfellow,’ ‘Songes and Sonets,’ ‘Pallaces of Pleasure,’ ‘unchast fables and Tragedies, and such like Sorceries,’ ‘The Courte of Venus,’ ‘*The Castle of Love*.’

In passing, we may note the extraordinary omission by Laneham of ‘Guy of Warwick’ in Capt. Cox’s list, as it is incredible that a Warwickshire collector like the Captain should not have had it. The fact lends colour to the supposition that the list is as much one of Laneham’s own books as Capt. Cox’s.

The next list to Laneham’s that I know, is given in a book, the first edition of which is dated 1579. In the 2nd edition of this in 1586, *The English Courtier and the Cuntrey-gentleman*, Vincent, the country-gentleman, says how they amuse themselves ‘in fowle weather’ at dice, cards, and games, and

“Wee want not also pleasant mad-headed knaues that bee properly learned, and will reade in diuerse pleasant bookes and good Authors: as Sir Guy of Warwicke, *the foure Sonnes of Amon*, *the Ship of Fooles*, *the Budget of Demaunds*, *the Hundreth merry Tales*, *the Booke of Ryddles*, and many other excellent writers both witty and pleasaunt.” p. 57, ed. 1868, *Roxburghe Library*.

If we turn now to the list of the Scotch writer of the *Complaynt of Scotland*, about 1548 A.D., we at once find a great change. Only two of Captain Cox’s stories are in the Scotch list, namely ‘The Four Sons of Aymon,’ and ‘Bevis of Hampton,’ though the *Complaynt* matches Captain Cox’s I, Arthurz book, and XII, Sir

Gawyn, by its (23) Arthur story or tale in rime, (19) Gauen and Gollogras, (16) Syr Euan (Ywain) and (20) Lancelot du Lac; and Captain Cox's XXII, Robiu Hood, by its (29) Robene Hude and Litol Ihone, and its dance-tune of (91) Robene Hude. Still, of the Scotchman's 46 stories, at least twelve are known to us as English ones, as will be noted below. Another marked difference between the lists of the two countries is, the very great number of classical or semi-classical stories in the Scotch list, ten,—(11) Hercules and the Hydra, (37) Actæon, (38) Pyramus and Thisbe, (39) Leander and Hero, (40) Jupiter and Io, (41) Jason and the Golden Fleece, (43) The Golden Apple, (44) The 3 Weird Sisters [*Parcæ* or Fates], (45) Dædalus and the Minotaur, (46) Midas and his ass-ears,—as against Captain Cox's none, for we can hardly call the middle-age necromancer of XV, Virgil's Life, classical, though he may have originated in the poet Virgil. This contrast means, I take it, not that Scotch shepherds or merchants knew more classics, or cared more for them, than our Coventry mason, or Robert Laneham, but that the writer of the *Complaynt* was a far more 'bookish' man—he's brimfull of classics—than Laneham, our London mercer.

Let us now take Captain Cox's (or Laneham's) books separately, and describe shortly such of them as are accessible in the British Museum, etc.

I. *King Arthurz book*. This is Sir Thomas Maleore's or Malory's well-known *Morte Darthur*, or abstract of the several prose French Romances of *Merlin*,—in its two states, shown by Mr. Henry Huth's unique version¹ containing the book of Balin and Balan, and by the ordinary version, of which Mr. H. B. Wheatley has edited an early English prose translation for the Early English Text Society from the unique MS. in the Cambridge University Library, ab. 1440 A.D.—*Les Prophecies de Merlin, Lancelot del Lac, Tristan, Queste del Saint-Graal, Morte d'Arthur*, etc. Sir T. Maleore finished his work in the 9th year of king Edward the Fourth, A.D. 1469, and Caxton printed the first edition of it in 1485. Wynkyn de Worde reprinted Caxton's edition, with a few variations,—on which see Sir Ed. Strachey's modernized and expurgated edition, for Macmillan's Globe Series in 1868, p. xvi.—in 1498, and again in 1529. Then Wyllyam Copland reprinted it again in 1557, at his predecessor Robert's old shop, at the sign of the Rose Garlande

¹ It is still in MS, though copied for printing.

in Fleet Street; and these are all the editions that we know before Laneham's date. So scarce have these early editions become, that we know of only 2 imperfect copies of the Caxton, (Lord Jersey's has no title; Lord Spencer's has 11 leaves in facsimile, not from Caxton's edition); one imperfect of each of the Wynkyn de Wordes (1498, Lord Spencer; 1529, Grenville collection in the British Museum). Of the Copland, Mr. Halliwell—seemingly quoting a copy of his own—says that it is entitled “The Hystorye of the moost noble and worthy prynce, Kyng Arthur,” while Mr. Hazlitt gives the first words of the title as “The Story of the most noble and worthy Kyng Arthur,” and says that copies are in the British Museum (King's books), and the Pepysian Library at Magdalen College, Cambridge (with no title page) and elsewhere; and that it's printed in double columns with woodcuts.

I do not tell the stories in this book because all my readers must know them well, and must have judged how far Ascham was right in calling the book one ‘of bold bawdry,’ how far Wynkyn de Worde¹ in saying, “me thinketh this present book called *La Morte Darthur* is right necessary often to be read; for in it ye shall find the gracious, knightly, and virtuous war of most noble knights of the world, whereby they gat praising continual. Also me seemeth, by the oft reading thereof ye shall greatly desire to accustom yourself in following of those gracious knightly deeds, that is to say, to dread God, and to love righteousness, faithfully and courageously to serve your sovereign prince.”

Maleore's and Tennyson's conceptions of Arthur differ widely. Our Victorian poet makes him a sinless king,—a type of Christ,—whose work is marred by the guilt of his wife and his friends. Maleore, on the other hand, makes Arthur what a Norman knight, a Keltic chieftain, would certainly have been, a gratifier of his own lust: he sins, not only with Lionors,—he begat Borres on her (ed. 1816, p. 34, bk. i. ch. 15),—but with his own sister Margawse, King Lot's wife, and the son of his incest works his father's death. The prophecy of Merlin on Arthur's committing his crime is fulfilled²; and for his own sin the Flower of Kings withers and dies. The Fate is on him from his youth; and over all his glory hangs ever the dark cloud of unatoned-for sin.

¹ See Strachey's modernized ed. p. xiv., 488.

² “You have done a thing late, wherefore God is displeased with you; for you have lain by your sister; and on her you have gotten a child that shall destroy you and all the knights of your realm.” “What are you,” said king

II. *Huon of Burdeaus.* This is a translation, by the famous Sir Johan Bonrchie, Lord Berners,—whose englishings of Froissart's Chronicle and the Romance of Arthur of Little Britain, are so well known—of 'a long, heavy French Romance,' says Mr. Halliwell (*Pop. Tracts*, p. 6); but that is matter of opinion, as Mr. Dunlop speaks of its "singularity and beauty,"—see also page xix—and Lord Berners wasn't a fool. The first edition is supposed to have been printed about 1535 by Robert Redborne, says Hazlitt's *Handbook*; by Pynson, say Mr. Corser and Messrs. Sotheby. The only copy known was Dr. Bliss's, afterwards Mr. Corser's, at whose sale in 1869, 'wanting title and 2 leaves at end, supposed to be printed by Pynson,' it fetched £81. An edition by Thomas Purfoot in 1601 says that it is 'now the third time imprinted.' The second edition is perhaps that mentioned by Mr. Halliwell at p. 6-7 of his *Popular Tracts*: "I have recently seen an imperfect copy of an ancient edition of this translation, printed in folio, in double columns, and illustrated with rude woodcuts, certainly printed before Shakespeare could have commenced writing for the stage, and in all probability not long after the year 1560." The translation was made by Lord Berners at the request of the Earl of Huntingdon, and extracts from it are given in Halliwell's "Illustrations of Fairy Mythology," Shakesp. Soc. 1845. "Shakespeare probably took the name of Oberon from this old romance."

The story of it is told in Dunlop's *History of Fiction*, ed. 1845, p. 123, col. 1; and 'the incidents in the *Oberon* of Wieland' (which Mr. Sotheby translated) 'are nearly the same with those in the old French romance.'

Charlemagne's son, Charlot, waylays Huon, and is slain by him. Huon can only get pardon by going to the Emir Gaudisse of Bagdad, and at table cutting off the head of the bashaw on his right, kissing his daughter 3 times, and bringing a lock of the Emir's white beard, and 4 of his best grinders, to Charlemagne. Huon sets out, goes to the Holy Sepulchre, and then the coast of the Red Sea, whence a naked old French escaped slave, Gerasmes, takes him through Oberon's forest, towards Bagdad. Oberon, a lovely child of 4 years old, and the son of Julius Cæsar (as he

Arthur, "that tell me these tidings?" "I am Merlin, and I was he in the king's likeness." "Ah!" said king Arthur, "ye are a marvellous man; but I marvel much of thy words, that I must die in battle." "Marvel not," said Merlin, "for it is God's will that your body be punished for your foul doeds." (Bk. i. ch. 18, ed. 1816, p. 39.)

says) gives Huon a magic goblet and horn, and afterwards rescues him, in Tourmont, from his traitorous renegade uncle. Huon then kills the giant Angoulaffre, reaches Bagdad, cuts off the head of the lover of Esclarmonde, the Emir's daughter, kisses her 3 times, and asks the Emir for a lock of his beard and his 4 grinders. The Emir has Huon chained and cast into prison; but Esclarmonde visits him, turns Christian, and offers to kill her father. But Huon is set free to conquer the brother of the giant Angoulaffre, which he does, and then asks the Emir to be baptized. The Emir orders Huon to be seized; but his magic horn summons Oberon; the Emir's head is struck off, and the lock of his beard and 4 grinders are soon Huon's. Huon then sails for Italy with treasure and Esclarmonde; but Oberon threatens him with dire punishments if he takes a husband's enjoyment out of Esclarmonde before he marries her. Of course Huon does this, and is shipwrecked; does it again, and has Esclarmonde carried away from him to King Yvoirin's seraglio. To that king's court, by the help of Malebron, one of Oberon's spirits, Huon gets, and there defeats Yvoirin's enemy Galafre. Afterwards, uniting with Gerasmes, who was then Galafre's champion, Huon frees Esclarmonde—still a virgin—sails to Italy, and weds her in Rome. He then sets out for Charlemagne's court, but is betrayed and sent there in chains by his brother Girart. Falsely accused, he is condemned and led to the stake; but Oberon rescues him, has Girart killed, and invites Huon and Esclarmonde to visit him in his fairy land. Here the original story ends. The continuation adds: Huon having cut off the head of the son of Thiery, emperor of Germany, is invaded by that potentate, in Guienne. He sails for Asia to get help from Esclarmonde's brother, and while he is absent, his wife is captured, and Gerasmes slain. On his voyage, Huon's ship is carried into a whirlpool, where he sees Judas Iscariot swimming and lamenting. The ship afterwards strikes on a rock of adamant, whereon the Lady of the Hidden Isle has built a glorious palace to hide her lover Julius Cæsar from the fury of three kings of Egypt. After a long stay here, Huon leaves on the back of a griffin, and is set down on a mountain where he finds the Fountain of Youth—wherein he bathes,—and its apple-tree, 3 of whose youth-giving apples he is let pluck. Then he is borne in a boat down a stream through a subterranean canal, where he gathers magic stones, to the Persian Gulf; and he

lands at Tauris. He wins the favour of the Sultan by the gift of one of his magic apples, and gets an army to free Esclarmonde. Landing at the desert isle of Abillaut, he sees Cain going round the top of a mountain in a cask full of serpents and spikes, and has a ride in the boat of the evil spirits who made the cask. Huon then visits Jerusalem, and makes war on the Sultan of Egypt; then lands at Marseilles, sends off his fleet, gives his 2nd youth-apple to his uncle, the Abbot of Clugny; and with the third gets back his wife from Emperor Thiery. Huon and Esclarmonde return to their own land of Guienne, and then visit Oberon in his enchanted forest, who installs Huon "in the empire of Faëry," and expires shortly after. The remainder of the romance, or rather fairy-tale, contains an account of the reign of Huon, and his dispute with Arthur (who had hoped for the appointment) as to the sovereignty of Fairy-land; and also the adventures of the Duchess Clairette, the daughter of Huon and Esclarmonde, from whom was descended the illustrious family of Capet.

"There are few romances of chivalry which possess more beauty and interest than *Huon of Bourdeaux*: the story, however, is too long protracted, and the first part seems to have exhausted the author's stores of imagination. Huon is a more interesting character than most of the knights of Charlemagne. . . . The subordinate characters in the work are also happily drawn. . . ."

So says Mr. Dunlop (*Hist. Fiction*, p. 129), who evidently knew more about the subject than Mr. Halliwell. The reader will find another sketch of the story in M. Alfred Delvau's *Bibliothèque Bleue*, Paris 1849, a book otherwise called *Collection des Romans de Chevalerie, mis en Prose française Moderne*, Paris, Bachelin-Deflorenne 1869, i. 145.¹

III. *The Four sons of Aymon.* This is a translation by Caxton about 1489, of one of the French Romances of the Charlemagne cycle.

Of Caxton's edition no perfect copy is known. The colophon of the 3rd edition by Wylliam Copland in 1554, now in Bridge-

¹ M. Delvau is one of the J. P. Cclier class who seldom tell you where their originals are; though in this point Delvau sins more than Collier. One of the late originals in the British Museum, 'Les prouesses et faitz merueilleux du noble Huon de bordeaux, per de france, duc de guyenne,' printed at Paris by 'Michel le noir, Libraire jure en luniuersite de paris,' and finished the 26th day of November 1513, has very quaint and jolly woodcuts, and tells the bits of its story that I have read, in most pleasant language.

water House, is the only evidence we have of the existence of a second edition by Wynkyn de Worde in 1504:

Here finissheth the hystory of the noble and valiaunt Knyght, Reynawde of Mountauban, and his three brethren. Imprinted at London by Wynkyn de Worde, the viii. day of Maye, and y^e yere of our lorde M CCCC IIII. at the request and commaundement of the noble and puissant erle, the Erle of Oxenforde, and now Imprinted in the yere of our Lorde, M. cccc liiii. the vi daye of Maye, by Wylliam Copland dwellyng in Fletestrete at the Signe of the Rose Garland for John Waley. *Bridgewater House.* Hazlitt (from Collier?).

The *Chansons de Geste* of the "Quatre Fils Aimon" consist of two parts, 1. that of the four Sons proper, called by the name of the chief of them "Renaud de Montauban," and which is the English romance; and 2. that of their magician cousin "Maugis d'Aigremont." These chansons are bound up with that of Girart de Roussillon, who is the protector of his brothers, Duke Beuve of Aigremont, Eude, Odon or Doon of Nanteuil, and Aime or Aimon of Dordone or Dordon.

The oldest text of the *Chanson de Geste* of the *Quatre Fils d'Aimon* is, says M. Paulin Paris (*Hist. Lit. de la France*, xxii. 412), of the end of the 12th century, a recast of an older poem, and tells the following story, which I abridge from M. Paris's analysis of the MSS.

At his court in Paris, Charlemagne notices, that not only is the dispossessed Duke Doon of Nanteuil absent, but also Duke Beuve of Aigremont. This angers Charlemagne, and he declares he'll level Aigremont, castle and city, unless Beuve does homage at court. Aimon takes his brother's part, and Charlemagne sends, first, a messenger, and then his son Lobier, or Lothair, to order Beuve to appear. Beuve answers the insulting mandates by killing both messenger and Lothair, and many of their men. Charlemagne invades Beuve, and makes him beg for pardon. This is granted, but afterwards, with Charlemagne's sanction, Beuve is entrapped and slain.

Aimon then brings his Four Sons, Renaud, Alard, Richard, and Guichard, to the court of Charlemagne, who likes and knights them, and gives Renaud the magic horse Bayard. Bertholais, Charlemagne's nephew, insults Renaud at a game of chess, in return for which, Renaud smashes his skull with the chess-board. The Four Sons are attacked, but make a victorious retreat, though their father Aimon is obliged to disown them, and to swear that he'll give them up. The Sons retire to the forest of Ardennes; there

build a castle, and live hidden 7 years. Then Charlemagne finds them out, besieges and starves them out, and demands the youngest brother Guichard, for his own slain son Lothair. Renaud refuses this; the Four escape, and live in woods, half-starving, for 7 years; all Four Sons having to ride on Bayard, whom three of them at last propose to eat. Renaud refuses, and they go to their father's castle. So changed are they by their hard life, that their mother doesn't at first know them. Their father won't own them, and denounces them, though he orders them to be supplied with all they want. Accompanied by their magician cousin Maugis d'Aigremont, they set out for Spain, defeat a Saracen king for Yon, king of Gascony, build the castle of Montauban, and Renaud marries Yon's sister. Then Charlemagne demands of Yon the Four Sons, though in vain; and Roland—he of Ronceval, Charlemagne's nephew,—comes to his court. Roland, as his first exploit, defeats the Saxons who're besieging Cologne, and takes their chief, Escorfan. For this, Charlemagne wants to give him a worthy steed, even Bayard. To get the horse, and Renaud his owner, the Emperor adopts Naime's treacherous scheme of proclaiming a race with rich prizes. To the race accordingly come Bayard,—turned from brown to white by Maugis's art,—and Renaud, also made to look like a youth of 15. They win the prize, defy Charlemagne, and retire to Montalban. There, say the continuers of the story in the 15th century (*Paris*, p. 430), the Emperor besieges the Four Sons; Yon betrays them; Roland takes Montalban; Maugis gives up magic, and retires to a hermitage; and the Four Sons fly to Dordon. There, again besieged, they make peace, and give up Bayard. Renaud goes to Jerusalem, and he and Maugis rout the Pagan army. Then Renaud's wife dies; he sends his 2 boys to Charlemagne's court; and himself goes as a beggar to Cologne. There he asks for work at St. Peter's Church, and the other workmen, in their jealousy, throw him off the highest tower. As for Bayard, Charlemagne basely has him thrown off the bridge at Liege into the Meuse, with a stone round his neck, and his legs tied together. But the noble steed rises, frees himself, and gains the forest of Ardennes, where, in the 15th century, he still was.

The reader who cares for these things should read M. Paris's interesting comments on this story and the whole cycle, and must excuse me from referring to Caxton's version of it. M. Delvau's

account of it in modern French is in his *Collection des Romans de Chevalerie*, Paris, 1869, i. 97, or *Bibliothèque Bleue*, 1849. The late French prose romance, and the English translation of it, no doubt differ in details from the earlier *Chansons de Geste*.

IV. *Beuys of Hampton.* The earliest copy of this Romance, which is translated from a 'Frensche boke,' is in the Auchinleck MS. ab. 1320-30 A.D. and was printed by the Maitland Club in 1838. Other MSS. are in the University Library, Cambridge, and the Library of Caius College, Cambridge, etc. The first printed version that we know, is from the press of Pynson, without date, and the only copy known is among Douce's books in the Bodleian. Of the next print that we know, Wynkyn de Worde's, 'a fragment of two leaves is in the Bodleian among Douce's books.' Of the third print, William Coplande's, a copy is among Garrick's books in the British Muscum. Editions were licensed to Thomas Marshe in 1558 (*Stationers' First Register*, leaf 31¹), to John Tysdayle in 1560-1 (*ib.* leaf 62 back), and to John Alde in 1568-9 (*ib.* leaf 179);—see Collier's *Stat. Reg.* i. 16, 38, 200;—but none of these editions are now known. If they were printed, the book must have been the most popular of those we have yet dealt with in Captain Cox's library. The story it tells is sketched by Ellis in his *Early English Metrical Romances*, from the Caius MS. and Pynson's copy. A king of Scotland's daughter has been given to old Sir Gij or Guy of South Hamtoun, and though he begets Bevis on her, he does not kiss and cuddle her all day as a younger lover would. She therefore sends to Sir Murdour to kill her husband and marry her; which, by her treachery, he does; and then she orders her 7-year old son, Bevis, to be murdered, and as that fails, to be sold as a slave and sent into heathendom. At the court of the Saraceu Ermyn, he kills, when 15 years old, 60 knights, and then a monstrous boar, and 9 foresters. Being knighted, mounted on his steed Arundel, and armed with his sword Morglay, he leads Ermyn's small army against the large force of Bradmond, king of Damascus, who has demanded Ermyn's daughter, Josyan. He kills Bradmond's giant Radyson, unhorses and defeats Bradmond, and then induces Josyan to promise to deny her faith and marry him. For this he is sent treacherously to Bradmond, who casts him into a dungeon in Damascus with 2 dragons. These Bevis slays; and after 7 years' imprisonment his chain breaks by a miracle, and he escapes. Killing his foremost

¹ I have verified the references.

pursuer, and then his gigantic brother, Bevis goes to Jerusalem, and thence to Mounbraunt, from the king of which country, Inor, he carries off his love Josyan, who had married Inor, but had remained a virgin. After killing two lions, a giant, and a most terrible dragon, and rescuing Josyan from the people who are about to burn her for hanging Earl Mile who had carried her off, Bevis has Sir Murdour, his father's murderer, thrown into a boiling caldron, while his mother, Murdour's wife, casts herself headlong from a tower. Bevis then recovers his father's Earldom of Southampton, but soon has to give it up—because his horse Arundel has killed King Edgar's son, who wanted to steal it,—and goes abroad. Josyan and her two babies are carried off from him for 7 years, but at length rejoin him, and he defends his father-in-law king Ermyn against Inor. His son Guy is made king of Ermyn's land, and he (Bevis) kills Iuor and all his army, and becomes king of Mounbraunt. Theuce he returns to England to restore his cousin Robert to his estates. He encamps at Putney, slays the king's steward, and (with his sons) has a fierce long fight in London, in which 60,000 men are slain; their blood runs down to Temple-Bar, and turns the Thames red. The result of this is, that King Edgar marries his daughter to Bevis's son, Sir Mile, who is crowned King of England, while Bevis and Josyan return to Mounbraunt, where they and their steed Arundel all die together.

V. *The Squyre of Lo Degrée* (or "Undo your Dore"). A poem pretty enough to have justified many more editions than the only early ones that have reached us, namely two; 1. Wynkyn de Worde's, of which 4 leaves only are known; 2. Wyllyam Copland's, of which a unique copy is among Garrick's books in the British Museum. (The latter has been reprinted by Ritson in vol. iii. of his *Ancient Metrical Romances*, and by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt in his *Select Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, vol. ii. p. 21-64, 1866). 3. An edition, not now known, was licensed to John Kynge on June 10, 1560; and as two other of Captain Cox's books were licensed with it, I copy the entry from leaf 48 of the Stationers' First Register, (it's also in *Collier*, i. 26) putting in some stops:

Receyvd of John Kynge, for his Lycense for pryntinge of these Copyes: }
 Lucas vrialis¹, nyce wanton / impaciens poverté / The proude wyves } ij^s.
 pater noster / The squyre of Low degre / and syr deggre: graunted }
 y^e x of June a^o 1560 }

¹ Lucres and Euryalus. See below, p. xxxviii, No. XIV.

The story told in 1132 lines is one of the best and most popular of our early tales, and was no doubt known to Shakspeare: "You called me yesterday mountain-squire, but I will make you to-day a squire of low degree." Fluellin in *Henry V.*, act 5, sc. 1. The poor Squire and Marshal of the King of Hungary loves that king's daughter for 7 years in silence. At length his love finds voice, and he finds it is returned; but his Princess bids him go abroad for 7 years, and earn fame in fight, then visit the holy city Jerusalem, and come back to wed her. She gives him money and arms, and the Squire starts, but, returning to take leave of her, is caught at her door by the King's treacherous Steward with a band of men. The Squire kills 7 men and the Steward, but is taken, and put in prison by the King's orders. The Steward's corpse, dressed in the Squire's clothes, is set against the Princess's door, and his face so hacked, that she thinks the body is the Squire's. She embalms it, and for seven years daily mourns over it. Then, unknown to her, the King frees the Squire, and sends him abroad to gain fame, and see the Holy Land, during 7 years more. This he does, his love still keeping his supposed corpse by her, and daily mourning over it. The King tempts her with all kinds of pleasure; but she, faithful ever, will have none of them. At last, when the Squire has, like Jacob for his Rachel, served twice 7 years, the King brings the living lover to his daughter; and the Squire of Low Degree is King, and with his Queen leads his life thenceforth in joy and bliss.

As bright as spring, and as tender as evening light, is the old story in its different parts; and besides, it is interesting for its many details of old-world life, its list of trees (l. 29-41), of birds (l. 45-60), of the parts of a knight's armour (l. 203-230), how he is to win renown, etc., and specially the King's description of the pleasures, dress, room and pursuits of his daughter (l. 711-852). There is a poor, much-shortened, version of it in the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, iii. 263, containing only 170 lines, against the 1132 of the original, as we must call Copland's late version of an earlier original, which it has evidently altered in many words and left out several lines of:—see l. 625-7, and compare the story of *Lybius Disconius*.

VI. *The Knight of Courtesy and the Lady Faguell.* The only edition known is by Wyllyam Coplande, not dated, but probably before 1557, as there is no notice of it in the Stationers' First

Register. A unique copy of it is in the Bodleian, which Ritson reprinted (less one stanza) in the third volume of his *Ancient Metrical Romances*, 1802; and Mr. Hazlitt has since reprinted it in vol. ii. of his *Early Popular Poetry*, p. 65-87. It is only 504 lines long, and its story is a sad one of platonic love. The Lord of Fagnell, who has a sweet chaste wife, hears such a report of the bravery and courteousness of "The Noble Knight of Courtesy" that he sends for him to dwell in his land. The Knight comes, and he and the Lady of Faguell fall in love with each other. They have a tender scene in the garden, and agree to love one another in chastity. An overhearer of this warns the Lord against the Knight, and the Lord then calls ou the Knight to go to Rhodes, and fight for the Christian Faith. To the Lady's great distress, the Knight consents, and she shears off all her yellow hair to put in his helm as a memento of her. Sadly they part. He seeks adventures, wins jousts, slays a dragon in Lombardy, who nearly kills him; and then he goes to Rhodes to help the Christians against the besieging Saracens. The Knight kills all whom he meets, till at last 12 Saracens set on him, and wound him to death, after he has killed 4 of them. He makes his page promise to cut out his heart, after he is dead, wrap it in his Lady's hair, and take it to her as his present. On the way home, the page is met by the Lord of Faguell, who takes away the heart and hair, has the heart cookt for his Lady's dinner, and then tells her what she has eaten. She reproaches him, and says that, after the heart, she will eat no earthly food; then she yields up her spirit, making her moan.

VII. *Frederik of Gene.* Mr. Halliwell, saying that a fragment of this tract is in Douce's collection in the Bodleian, gives its title (from Herbert's Ames, I suppose.) Mr. Hazlitt adds its colophon. Both follow:

This Mater Treateth of a Merchauntes Wyfe that afterwarde went lyke a man, and becam a Great Lorde, and was called Frederyke of Jennen afterwarde. [Col.] Thus endeth this lyttell storje of lord frederyke. Imprynted in Anwarpe by me John Dusborowghe, dwellynge besyde the Camerporte, in the yere of our lorde God, 1518. 4to. With woodcuts.

The fragments—No. 79 in the Douce Fragments—in the Bodleian are identified with the Romance of *Frederyke of Jennen* by the signature on leaf A iij. As to editions, Douce's MS. notes state that his fragments belong to an edition by Pynson (not otherwise known), and not to a copy of John Dusboroughe's edition.

He has written on the cover of the fragments, "Frederick of Jennen p. by Pynson," and also: "Not in Herbert. P[rinted] also by Doesborowe. See Herbert 1533. Story of Cymbeline." The fragments are as follows:—

Douce Fragments, ¶ How foure marchauntes met a[ll togyder,] whiche
No. 79. were of foure dyuerse lo[ndes, and iorney] [de all to Parys.

In the yere of our lorde [it] happened that four [marchauntes] out of dyuerse countrye[s went on their journeys and] as they were goyng [it fell so that by] fortune they met all togyder and gyder / for they were all foure goynge [to P]arys in Fraunce & for company sake they rode a [. . . .] into one ynne / & it was about shraftyde, in the moost ioyfull tyme of all the yere¹; and theyr names were called as here foloweth. *the fyrst* was called Courant of Spayne / *the second* was called Borchart of Fraunce / *the thyrde* was called Johan of Florence / & *the fourth* was called Ambrose of Jennen. Than, by the consent of the other marchauntes, Borcharde of fraunce went vnto the hoste and sayd: "Hoste, now is the meryest tyme of the yere, and we be foure marchauntes of foure dyuerse countryes, & by fortune we met all togyder in one place & our iorney is to Parys. And therefore whyle we be so met, lette vs make good chere togyder / & ordeyne *the best meet that ye can get for money agaynst to morowe,* and byd also some of your beste frendes that you loue mooste, that



[Douce's Pencil Note. "This cut was used in Boorde's Introd." From the title-page of my reprint of that book for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series this year, I borrow the cut. The date of Pynson's edition of *Frederike of Jennen* must have been 10 years or more before William Coplande's of Boorde's *Introduction* in 1547 or 1548.]

¹ Shrovetide is Shrove Tuesday, and may fall on any day between Feb. 2 and March 8.

we maye make good chere togyder or that we departe fro hense / and we shall contente you all your money agayne." And than the hoste sayde that he wolde do it with a good wyll, and than went he, and bad many of his good frendes and neyghbours to dyner; and he hought of *the best meet that he coude get for money, and brought it home.* And on the morowe he dressed it, and made it redy agaynst dyner, after the best maner *that he coude.* And whan *that it was dyner*¹ . . . e gestes to dyner & the marchauntes . . . them welcome. Than bad *the mar* . . . at he sholde brynge in the meete. & . . . myght go to dyner. And than the . . . wyll. Than when the hoste and . . . meet & set it theron & pray- . . . gestes to them & ayt downe togyder . . . good chere al *the daye longe with good honestey* . . . as very late with daunsynge & lepyng. And wh[an they h]ad done / the gestes toke theyr leue of the marchauntes, & thanked them for theyr good chere. And than euery man departed home to his house. And than cam the marchauntes to the hoste, & prayed hym hertely for to come in, & thanked hym that he had ordered & done all thynges so well and manerly.

² ¶ How two of the marchauntes / as Johan of [Florence] and Ambrosius of Jennen hyld one another .v. thousand golde guldens.

Whan al *the marchauntes* & the gestes had made merye togyder al the daye longe / at nyght the gestea toke theyr leue of *the marchauntes* / & thanked them for theyr good chere that they had made them / & so departed euery one to theyr lodgyng. And whan that they were departed euery man to theyr house / than wexed it late. And than cam the hoste of *the house* to the marchauntes & asked them yf that they wolde go slepe / & they answered vnto theyr hoste "yes." And than toke he a candel, and brought *the marchauntes* into a fayre chambre / where was .iiij. beddes rychely hanged with costely curtaynes that euerye marchant myght lye by themselfe. And whan that they were all togyder in *the chamber* / than began they to speke of many thynges / some good / some bad, as it laye in theyr myndes. Than sayd Courant of spayne: "Syr, we haue be all this daye mery, and made good chere, & euerye one of vs hath a fayre wyfe at home: howe fare they nowe at home, we can not tel." Than sayd bourcharde of Fraunce to the other marchauntes: "What aske you how they do? They syt by the fyere, and make good chere and eate / & drynke of the beste, and laboure not at all / & so get they vnto them hote blode; & than they maye take an other lusty yonge man, and do theyr pleasure with hym, *that we knowe not of* / for we be oftentimes long from them, & for *that cause may the lenne*³ a lofe, for a nede, secretly to an other." Than sayd Johan of Florence / "we may all well be called foolea & nydeates that truste our wyfes in this maner as we do; for a womans hert is not made of so hard a stone but *that*⁴ [it] wyll melte / for a womans nature is to be vnstedfaste and tourneth as the wynde dothe, and careth not for vs tyll the tyme *that* we come agayne. And we labour dayely bothe in wynde and rayne, and put often our lyues in iopardy and in auenture on the see, for to synd them *withall*; & our wyfes syt at home, and make good chere *with* other good felowes, &

¹ [Sign. A. ii. (b).]

² Leaf 2. Sign. A. iij.

³ they lend.

⁴ The signature is Fredeyke of Jennen.

gyue them parte of the money that we get. And therefore, an ye wyll do after my counsayle / let euery one of vs take a fayre wenche to passe the tyme withal, as well as our wyfes do / & they shall knowe no more of that / than we knowe of them." Than sayde Ambrosius of Jennen to them: "By goddes grace, that shall I neuer do whyle *that* I lyue! For I haue at home a good & a vertuous woman, and a womanlye. And I knowe [wel that] she is not of that dysposycyon / but *that* she wil eschewe . . . of all suche yll abusyons tyll the tyme that I com home agayn. For I knowe well that she wyl haue non other man but me alone. And yf that I shold breke my wedlocke, than were I but lytell worthe." Than sayd Joh'n of Florence: "Felowe, ye set moche pryce by your wyfe at home, and truste her with all that ye haue. I wyll laye with you a wager of .v. thousande guldens, yf *that* ye wyl abyde me here, I shal departe, & ryde to Jennen, & do *with* your wyfe my wyll." Than sayd Ambrosius to Johan of Florence: "I haue delyuered to my hoste .v. thousand guldens to kepe / put ye downe as moche agaynste it, & I shal tarye here tyll the tyme that ye retourne agayn from Jennen / & yf that you, by ony maner of menes, can get your pleasure of my wyfe, ye shall haue all this money." Than sayd Johan of Florence: "I am content /" and than putted he in his hostes hande other .v. thousande guldens agaynste Ambroses money. And than toke he

[End of Fragment.]

VIII. *Syr Eglamoour.* Of this Romance (translated also from the French) we haue at least four manuscript copies: 1. in the University Library, Cambridge, MS. Ff. ii. 38, printed in the *Thornton Romances* for the Camden Society by Mr. Halliwell in 1844; 2. (imperfect) in the Thornton MS.; 3. in the British Museum, MS. Cotton. Calig. A. xii.; 4. in the Percy Folio MS., printed in vol. ii. p. 341-389 of the *Ballads and Romances*. (In the notes there I haue mistakenly called the Cambridge MS. printed in Mr. Halliwell's Thornton volume, the Thornton MS.); 5. A single leaf of another early copy, says Mr. Halliwell, is preserved in a MS. belonging to Lord Francis Egerton.

Of old printed editions before 1575, the earliest that we know is in 1508, 'Sir Glamor, Edinburgh, be Walter Chepman and Andro Myllar,' of which an imperfect copy is in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. The other editions are London ones, not dated, by William Copland, (a copy among Selden's books in the Bodleian), and by John Walley (a copy in the British Museum): and one of these, Captain Cox doubtless had.

The story of the Romance is told by Mr. Halliwell in Ellis's *Metrical Romances*, and by me in the side-notes of the Percy Folio print, and narrates how the poor knight Sir Eglamore loves Christabel, the fair daughter of the Earl of Artoys, and how he

undertakes three Deeds of Arms to win her; how accordingly he kills the giant Marrocke and a big Boar, a second Giant, and a Dragon near Rome; how before marriage he begets a boy on Christabell, with which, when born, she is put out to sea alone in a ship, and a Griffin flies away with the boy. She is driven to Egypt, her boy carried to Isarell, while Eglamore, mourning them both as lost, fights and dwells for 15 years in the Holy Land. Then his son, Degrabell, wins his own mother Christabell at a tournament, and weds her; but before the marriage is consummated she discovers that Degrabell is her son, and their marriage void. At the second tourney, Eglamore wins his Christabell; they marry; and rule Artoys.

The romance of *Torrent of Portugal*, edited by Mr. Halliwell, has almost the same incidents as *Sir Eglamore*, and is a version of the same story.

IX. *Syr Tryamour*. Mr. Halliwell edited this romance for the Percy Society in 1846 from the earliest known MS. of it, of the time of Henry VI., in the Cambridge University Library. Another MS. of it is in the Bodleian Library; and a third in the Percy Folio, printed in the *P. F. Ballads and Romances*, vol. ii. p. 78-135.

Of old printed editions we know only two, both without date, by Wyllyam Coplande: 1. 'imprinted at London in Temes strete vpon the thre crane wharfe,' of which a copy is among Garrick's books in the British Museum; 2. 'imprinted at London,—with a different cut on the title to that of the first ed.,—of which a copy is among Selden's books in the Bodleian. To use, with little change, Mr. Hales's words, "the story tells how a good lord (Arradas) and his gentle lady (Margaret) were estranged by the treachery of their steward (Marrocke); how their son (Triamore), conceived in honour, was born in exile and shame; how, after many a weary year, the execrable fraud was discovered; and how, at last, the son (who has, in the meantime won himself a wife, the beautiful Helen of Hungary, by many doughty deeds of arms) and his mother, are happily united to the grieving husband." As the steed, Arundel, was so prominent a feature in *Sir Eglamore*, so in *Sir Triamore* is Sir Roger's hound, who never leaves his master's grave, except to get food, and who bites that master's murderer, Marrocke, through the throat. Sir Roger is the faithful old knight who accompanies the lady Margaret in her exile, till Marrocke kills him.

X. *Syr Lamwell.* The earliest form of this romance that we know, is Thomas Chestre's *Syr Launfale* in the Cotton MS. Caligula A. 2, leaf 33 etc., printed in Ritson's *Early English Metrical Romances*¹, which is taken from No. 5 of Queen Marie's *Lais*, that Dr. Mall is about to re-edit. This version differs in form, and somewhat in matter, from the later MS. version printed from Bp. Percy's Folio MS. in the *P. F. Ballads and Romances*, i. 142. When the Introduction to the Percy Folio "Sir Lamwell" was written (vol. i. p. 142), the incomplete copy of the Romance in the Rawlinson MS. C. 86, (about 1508 A.D. says Mr. Halliwell) was unfortunately overlooked, though Sir F. Madden had mentioned the piece in his description of the MS. in his *Sir Gawayne* for the Bannatyne Club. From this MS. twenty-nine lines—that which should be the 18th is left out in the MS—are now printed below, as a sample, from a copy made by Mr. George Parker of the Bodleian:—

[Rawl. MS. C. 86. leaf 119b.]

landaball.

Sothly by Arthurs day		With hym there was a Bachiller	
was breтайne yn grete nobylé ;		[And had ben there full many a year,]	
For yn hys tyme a grete whyle		A yonge kynghte ² of mushe myght ;	
He sojourned at Carlile ;	4	"Sir landevale" for-soithe he lighte.	
He had with hym a meyne thers,		Sir landevale spent blythely,	
As he had ellys-where, [leaf 120.]		And yaf yeftes largely ;	22
Of the rounde table the kynghtes ² alle,		So wildely his goode he sett,	
With myrthe and Joye yn hys halle.		That he felle yn grete dette.	
Of eache lande yn the worlde wyde		"Who hath no good, goods can he	
There came men on euery syde,	10	none,	
Yonge kynghtes ² and Squyers,		And I am here in vnchut ³ londe,	26
And othir Bolde B[a]chelers,		And no gode haue vnder honde ;	
forto se that nobly		Men wille me holde for a wreche.	
That was with arthur alle-wey ;	14	Where I be-come, I ne reche."	
for Ryche yeftys and tresour		He lepe vpon a Coursier	30
He gayf to eache man of honour.			

[&c., about 530 ll.—leaf 128. Ah. 1480 A.D.]

We have now, therefore, five different versions, one whole, 4 in part, of the late *Sir Lamwell*—three are in the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*—besides the earlier Romance printed by Ritson.

Also, since the publication of the Percy Folio, the Librarian of Cambridge University has shown me a MS. fragment—a page and a quarter, about,—of a much scottified version of Sir Lamwell,

¹ Also in Way's *Fabliaux*, ed. 1815, iii. 233–287, and Halliwell's *Fairy Mythology of a Midsummer Night's Dream* 1845, p. 2–34.

² So in MS.

³ Un-couth, unknown, strange.

differing a little from both the versions printed in the Folio. It is entered in the Index to the Catalogue as "Arthur, on king, iii. 700," and is printed below:—

[Sir Lamuell.]

<p>Listine, Lordings! by the dayis off Arthure was Britan in greet honoure; for in his tyme, as he ane quhyll he sojurneit att coomelie carlille, 4 & hed with him monie ane aire, As he hed oftymes els quhair— Off his round table <i>the knyghtis</i> all with muche mirth in boure & hall, 8 off evrie land in World so wyd, thar come to him in eich [a] syd; young knichtis, & squyers eik, & bald baichlers, came him to seik, 12 for to sie <i>the</i> great Nobilnes that was into his court always; for he geve rich gifts & treasour to men of wair & greet honour 16 with him ther was ane baicheleir And hed beene <i>ther</i> monie ane zeir, Ane young knyght, mekill off nicht; 'Sir Lamuell' forsuiht he hecht, 20 this Lamuell geve gifts michtilie, & spaireit not bo' geve largelie; & so libralle he it spent, miche moir nor he hed in rent; 24 & so onvyse he itt fett, that he came mekill into daitt. and quhen he sau weill all was gaine, then he began to mak his moane. 28 "alas!" he said, "vo is that mann that na gud heth, nor na gud cann! and I am far in ane ferang land, and na gud hee, I onderstand! 32 men wald me hald for ane wrache, Quhair I be puir certes, ne riche." he lapp upon ane fair coursoure, with-outtin Chyld orzit squyoure, 36 and raid so furth in great murning to dryve away his soir langing. his way he tuik toward <i>the</i> west, betuix ane Vater and ane forrest; 40 the sone vas then in eveningtyd, he lichtit down, & wald abyd. for he vas hait in <i>the</i> Wather 43 He tuik his mantill, and fald to gidder, And laid him doune, <i>the</i> knyght so free, Under <i>the</i> shadoü off ane tree: "Alace!" he said, "na gud I heve,</p>	<p>Nor quhair to go! so god me saiff! 48 And all <i>the</i> knichtis with ther feires Off <i>the</i> round table that be my peeres, Eich on to heve me vas full glaid; Nou will thai be off me full sadd; 52 Nou wallaway, this is my song." With soir weiping his hand he wrang, With sourou and cair he did zell, Till hevie on a sleip he fell, 56 & all to soipeit and forweipt. Quhen he vakuit out off sleip, Tuo off <i>the</i> fairest maids sau he That ever he did sie with ee, 60 Come out off <i>the</i> forrest, & to him drau; fairer befor he never sau; Kirtils thai hed of purple sendill, Small laceit, setting fall ane weill; 64 Mantils thai hed of rid welvet, Frenzeit with gold ful veill was sett; Thai vaire abowe that over all Upon ther heds a jollie curnall; 68 ther faces as <i>the</i> snou was quhyt, with Lufesum cullor off gret delyt; fairar befor he never did sie he thought <i>them</i> Angels off hevins he. The on bair ane goldin baiseing, 73 The uther ane touall off Alifyne; Thai Came him both tovarid twaine; he vas courtes, vent <i>them</i> againe; 76 "Welcume!" he said, "Madams so frie." "Sir Knyght!" thai answeireit him, "Velcum be ze! My Ladie that is brigst as floure, The grathethe, Sir lamuell, para- mour; 80 Sho preyith <i>the</i> cum & speik with hir, ziff it be nou thy plesor, Sir." "I am full faine with zou for to fair, for troulie, such as zou so rair, 84 On <i>the</i> ground sau I never go:" Washit his face and hands also, & with <i>the</i> maids did glaidlie gang, As merie as marle in hir song. 88 within the forest ther did sie Ane rich Pavillione <i>ther</i> picht ful hie. Ewrie pom.¹</p>
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Cambridge University Library MS. Kk. 5, 30, leaf 11.

¹ No more written.

The Rawlinson *Landavall* is more like the bit of printed version given to the Bodleian by Mr. Halliwell (and printed in the Appendix to vol. i. of the Percy Folio,) than the text of the Folio itself. Mr. Halliwell says in his "Mythology of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*," 1845, that the copy of *Lamwell* mentioned by Sir F. Madden in the Lambeth MS. 305 "seems to be an error for the *Lybeans Discours* in MS. No. 306." "The fabliau or romance of *Lanval* is printed in Le Grand's *Fabliaux et Contes*, ed. 1829; and an English paraphrase of it appeared in 'Tales of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries' translated from the French of Le Grand (? by George Ellis) 1796." (Hazlitt.)

Of early printed editions of *Sir Lamwell* we know nothing except one fragment of 8 leaves, and another of one leaf, both in the Bodleian, and both printed in the Appendix to vol. i. of the Percy Folio Ballads and Romances, p. 522-535. Perhaps the first of these is part of the edition licensed to John Kynge in 1557-8:—

To John Kynge, to prynte these bokes folowyng; that ys to saye, a
 Jeste of syr gawayne¹ / the boke of Carwyng and sewyng² / syr }
lamwell; the boke of Cokerye;³ the boke of nurture for mens sar- }
 vautes;⁴ and for his lycense he geveth to the house }

As these old printed texts are more like the Percy Folio version than the Cotton one, we may sketch the story from the Percy MS.

Among the knights who resort to king Arthur 'in merry Carlile' is the young Sir Lambewell. So prodigal is he of his money, that he soon has none left, and rides off westward alone, While he's sleeping under a tree, two lovely maidens wake him, and lead him to their lovelier mistress, the daughter of the king of Million or Amillion—Oleron, in Chestre's version,—who offers him all he wants, and lies with him that night. Next day she sends him back to Arthur, with plenty of money (and more to come), which he gives away right and left; but if he ever mentions her name, he is to lose her for ever. Queen Guinevere makes advances to Lambewell, which he rejects; and answers her taunts

¹ See below, p. xxxiv, No. XII.

² A later edition of Wynkyn de Worde's book which was plagiarised from Russell or his original. Both are in my *Babees Book*.

³ A Proper New Booke of Cookery. Imprinted at London by John Kynge and Thomas Marshe [1558], 12mo in *Corpus Library, Cambridge*.

⁴ Hugh Rhodes's Book, of which Jackson's edition of 1577 is reprinted in my *Babees Book*, with collations of Petyt's edition, before 1554.

⁵ The sum is not entered.

by saying that his mistress's lowest maiden is fit to be queen over her. For this she accuses him of trying to violate her; and he is adjudged to prove his boast about his mistress's maiden, or die. Two ladies then ride up, 'much fairer than the summer's dayes;' then two others, fairer still; at last 'a damsell by her selfe alone; on earth was fairer neuer none.' She is Sir Lambwell's love; she clears him of the charge against him, but speaks no word to him; he has broken faith with her. In vain for him do Arthur and his knights plead. She turns to go alone; but as she passes Lambwell, he leaps on her palfrey, swearing he'll never leave her; and in the 'jolly island' called Amilion, they live in bliss.

XI. *Syr Isenbras.* This Romance was printed by Mr. Halliwell from the Thornton MS. in Lincoln Cathedral Library, in his Thornton Romances for the Camden Society in 1844. Another copy is in the Library of Caius College; and from that and the printed copy in Garrick's plays, now in the British Museum, Ellis sketched the story in his *E. E. Metr. Romances*. This old printed copy is without date, but 'Imprynted at London by me, Wyllyam Copland;' and one leaf of a different edition is among Douce's books in the Bodleian.

Sir Isumbras is proud, and forgets God. An angel announces to him his degradation; and, as from Job, his cattle and dwelling are taken by death and fire; his wife and 3 children alone are left, naked. They start on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; their eldest boy is carried off by a lion; the second by a leopard; the wife by a Saracen soudan; the youngest boy by a unicorn, and his mantle by an eagle. Seven years Isumbras serves as a labourer and a smith, and then helps the Christians win a battle, and slays the Soudan who has taken his wife. Seven years he wanders in the Holy Land, and then an angel tells him his sin is forgiven. As a palmer he enters the palace of his wife, the widow-queen; is there kindly treated, and takes office; and one day gets from an eagle's nest the mantle his youngest boy was wrapt in when he was carried off. This leads to his being made known to his wife, and his coronation as king of the Saracens. He tries to convert them, on which they all join two princes near, whom they have persuaded to invade him. With his wife, Isumbras encounters the whole hosts, and they are about to perish, when three knights, who prove to be his 3 sons—one on a lion, the second on a leopard, the third on a unicorn,—come to the rescue, slay 23,000 of

the unbelievers, and rout the enemy. Taking the 2 princes' kingdoms for 2 sons, they conquer another country for the 3rd, and then have all the inhabitants of the new lands and Isumbras's baptized.

XII. *Syr Gawyn.* "A Jeste of syr Gawayne" was, as we have seen (p. xxxii), licensed to John Kynge in 1557-8, but no part of his edition has reached us. The last leaf only of another edition 'Imprynted at London in Paule Churche yarde at the sygne of the Maydens heed by Thomas Petyt' is in Bagford's Collections in the British Museum. Four leaves of another edition 'Imprynted at London in Fletestrete at the sygne of Saynte Johan euangelyst by me Johan Butler' are in the Lambeth Library. This fragment was reprinted by Dr. S. R. Maitland in his *List of Early Printed Books at Lambeth*, 1843, p. 297. Of the Scotch romance of Golagros and Gawene, an earlier but titleless copy of 1508 is in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and its colophon is 'Heir endis the Knightly tale of golagrus and gawene [imprentit] in the south gait of Edinburgh be Walter Chepman and Andrew Millar the viii day of Aprile the yhere of god M. CCCCC. and viii yheris.' This, with all the other poems he could collect about Sir Gawain, Sir Frederick Madden edited for the Bannatyne Club in 1839. The most important of these poems is the very spirited and vigorous romance of Gawain and the Green Knight from the Cotton MS. Nero A. x, which Dr. Richard Morris has re-edited for the Early English Text Society, and of which a poor emasculated modernization (of the 16th century, as I suppose) is printed in the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, ii. 58-77, and in Sir F. Madden's Appendix No. III. p. 224-242. However, we may feel quite sure that the old black letter 'Jeste of Syr Gawayne' was the one that Captain Cox read; and as the printed fragments we possess of it agree, except in a few words, with the headless version that Sir F. Madden printed in his *Syr Gawayne*, p. 206-223, from a small 4to MS. of Douce's in the Bodleian, written in 1564, and containing several other romances, all "imperfect, and all, apparently, transcribed from early black-letter editions," we can get the story from this MS. Sir F. Madden also notices the last leaf of Petyt's edition among Bagford's Collections, MS. Harl. 5927, art. 32, and says "It is no doubt this romance which is alluded to under the title of *Sir Gawyn* by Laneham. . . The original author . . . in this instance, as in so many others, is

French; and in the *Roman de Perceval*, fol. lxxiv. b, we meet with the entire story." This, as Southey (Pref. to *Morte d'Arthur*, p. xxvi.), and Sir F. Madden (*Syr Gawayne*, p. 349-50) note, contains two different accounts of the opening of the tale, 1. making the meeting between Gawayne and the maiden innocent, though judged guilty by her father and brothers; 2, making it guilty (farther on in the work, by Gawayne's confession), as the English adapter made it. The story runs thus.

Gawayne leaves Arthur at the siege of Branlant. After crossing a river and plain, and passing through a wood, Gawayne comes on a magnificent pavilion, in which, on a sumptuous bed, sleeps a lovely girl, Guinalorete, daughter of the king of Lys (or 'Syr Gylberte, a ryche earle,' as the English story calls him). Gawayne kisses her, and she threatens him with the vengeance of her father and brothers. But—and here the English fragment begins—Gawayne fears no threats, and takes his pleasure in the maiden. Her father finds them together, and reproaches and challenges Gawayne. They fight; Gawayne unhorses and wounds the father, and goes back to the daughter. To the wounded father comes his son Syr Gyamoure, hears what has happened, calls up Gawayne from his sister's side, and fights him. But Syr Gyamoure is soon unhorsed and wounded too, and Gawayne returns again to Guinalorete (whose name is given only in the French romance). Then comes Syr Gylberte's second son, Syr Tyrry, to his wounded father and brother. He too hears of Gawayne's misdeed, calls him from the Pavilion, fights him, but is unhorsed, and hurt, nigh to death; and Gawayne goes back a third time to his sweet may in the pavilion. At last comes to the poor Syr Gylberte and his two wounded sons, the pride of their family, son Syr Brandles (or Brandels). The father tells him too of Gawayne's deeds; Brandles calls Gawayne from the pavilion, and they fight so sore that both are glad to separate, vowing to renew the fight whenever they meet, "utterlye," or to the death. Gawayne puts up his sword and departs, asking only Brandles to 'be frend to that gentle woman,' his sister. 'As for that,' says Brandles,—and here the Petyt leaf begins:—

'She hath caused to day moch shame,
parde;
It is pyte she hath her syght!"
"Syr knight" sayd syr gawane "haue
good day!

For on fote I haue a long way;
An horse were me wonder dere.
Somtyme good horses I haue good
wone,
But now on fote nedes must I gone;

God in haste amende my chere!
 Syr gawayne was armed passyng
 heuy,
 On fote might he not endure truelye:
 His knyfe he toke in honde,
 [H]is armoure good he cut hym fro,
 Elles on fote myght he not go;
 Thus with care was he bonde.
 ¶ Leue we now syr Gawayne in wo,
 And speake we more of syr Brandles
 tho.
 When he with his syster met,
 [H]esayd, "fye on the, harlot stronge!
 [I]t is pyte that thou lyuest so longe!
 Strypes hardè I wyl set,
 [A]nd betè thè, both backe and syde!"
 [A]nd then wolde he not abyde;
 But to his fader streyte he went.
 Then he axed hym how he fared;
 [H]e sayd, "son, for thè haue I cared,
 [I] wende that thou haddest ben
 shent."
 Brandles sayd, "I haue bet my syster;
 [A]nd the knyght, I made hym swere
 That, when we mete agayne,
 [H]e and I wyl togyder fyght
 Tyl we haue spended eche our myght,
 [A]nd that one of vs be slayne."
 So home they went al togyder,

[Back of leaf.]
 And eche of them helped other
 As wel as they myght go.
 Then the lady gate her awaye;
 They saw her neuer after that day;
 She went wandryng to and fro.
 Also syr Gawayne, in his party,
 On fote he went ful weryly,
 Tyl he to the courte came home.
 Al this aduerture he shewed the kyng,
 That with those .iiii. knyghtes he had
 fighting,
 And eche after other alone.
 After that tyme they never met more;
 Ful glad were these partyes Therefore;
 So was there made the ende.
 I pray god gyue vs all good rest,
 And those that have harde this lytle
 geste,
 And in hye heuen for to be dwellyng,
 And that we al, vpon domes day,
 Come to the blysse that lasteth aye,
 Where we may here the aungels
 synge.

¶ Imprinted at london in Paule[s]
 churche yarde at the sygne of
 the maydcns heed, by
 Thomas Petyt.

Over this, is a separate colophon of Petyt's (No. 31), dated 'In the yere of our Lorde God. M. D. XLij.,' but it clearly does not belong to the Gawayne *Jeaste*. A duplicate of this colophon is on leaf 49 of Bagford's MS. No. 181.

The French romance gives us the sequel of the Geste. It makes Brandelys and Gawayne meet and fight again. Guina-lorete, with her child Giglain, interposes between them twice; and Brandelys, who has been struck down, is persuaded to yield, is made a Knight of the Round Table, and grants forgiveness to Gawayne, 'who begs it ou his knees.' (*Madden*, p. 351.)

Sir Thomas Maleore "the compiler of the *Morte d'Arthur* does not insert this episode in his work, but has a distinct allusion to the circumstance, when he says 'Thenne came in Syr Gawayne with his thre sous, Syr *Gyngelyn*, Syr *Florence*, and Sir *Louel*; these two were *begoten upon Sir Brandyles syster*; and al they fayled.'—Vol. ii. p. 383. Sir Brandelys was subsequently, together with Florence and Louel, slain by Lancelot du Lac and his party, at the rescue of Queen Guenever. *Ibid.* ii. 401, 403." (*Syr Gawayne*, p. 351.)

XIII. *Olyuer of the Castl.* “Y^e Historye of Olyuer of Castylle and the Fayre Helayne. [Colophon] Here endeth y^e historye of Olyuer of Castylle, and of the fayre Helayne daughter vnto the kynge of Englande. Inprynted at London in flete strete at the sygne of the Sonne by Wynkyn de Worde. The yere of our lorde M. CCCC. and xvij.” “A Spanish Romance,” says Mr. Halliwell, “very popular throughout Europe, and translated into most European languages.” I have just looked at the ‘Contents’ of Loys Costé’s Rouen edition¹ of ‘L’Hystoire de Ollivier de Castille, et Artus d’Algarbe, Preux & vaillans Chenaliers, Auec les² proesses de Henry de Castille, filz de Olinier, et de Helaine, fille du Roy d’Angleterre: et les grandes aduentures ou ilz se sont trainez contre leurs ennemys, comme pourrez voir cy apres,” (*Brit. Mus.* $\frac{12450}{1-8} . c$) and find that it tells how Oliver’s mother-in-law lusts for him—“ce n’estoit que fragilité naturelle de femme, qui suit sa sensualité contre honneur,” says the old French publisher (?) in his *Epilogation*—that he rejects her advances, goes to England, and—being armed by a knight to whom he promises half his prize—beats every one in a 3-days’ tourney, the prize of which is ‘la belle Helaine,’ the lovely daughter of the King of England. Oliver tries to conceal himself, but is taken, and brought to the Court. Then he takes the King of England’s side against the King of Ireland, who has invaded England. Oliver heads the English host, discomfits the Irishmen, follows them to their own country, brings back 7 kings prisoners, and is rewarded by fair Helen’s hand. But soon the son of one of Oliver’s Irish prisoners captures Oliver himself; and Artus of Algarbe, hearing this, comes to London, mistakes Helen for her husband, and lies by her, purely, and then rescues Oliver. Oliver however hears a wrong story of his wife and Artus, and wounds Artus; but on learning the truth, prays forgiveness. Afterwards Artus falls ill, and to save him, Oliver kills his own two children, and gives their blood to his friend. This heals Artus; God brings the children to life again; and Artus and Oliver go to Castille. Then the knight who armed Oliver for his London tourney claims Oliver’s son as his half of Oliver’s prize; but, seeing the grief of Oliver and Helen, restores them their boy, and vanishes into Heaven. Oliver then marries his daughter to Artus of Algarbe. Oliver

¹ It is not dated, but the Museum Catalogue puts ?1625. It is translated from the Latin, by P. Camus.

Orig. lcc.

and Helen die; their son Henry is captured, and dies in the Saracens' land; while Artus becomes King of Castille and England.

XIV. *Luces and Eurialus.* The original of this Romance was written in Latin by Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II., born 1405, died 14 Aug. 1464.¹ One copy of the edition of 1443, in the British Museum—which has another copy on vellum, and others in the Pope's Works—has no title, but is headed “Enee Siluij poetæ Senensis . de duobus amantibus Eurialo et Lucesia . opusculum ad Marianum Sosinum feliciter Incipit prefatio.” It has sheets a, b, c, d, in eights, and e in four; and the Colophon is “Explicit opusculum Enee Siluij de duobus amantibus In ciuitate Leydensi Anno Domini Millesimo CCCC^o quadragesimo tercio . Leien.”

It was translated into Italian in 1554, “Epistole de Dvi Amanti composte dal fausto et eccellente Papa Pio tradutte in uulgare con elegantissimo modo. In Venetia per Matthio Pagan, in Frezaria all' insegna della Fede. M. D. LIIII.”

Of English editions we know three.

1. (The goodli / history of the most noble / and beautyfull Ladye / Luces of Scene in Tus/kane, and of her louer Eurialus verye / pleasaunt and / delectable / vnto y^e / reder./ 4to, black letter, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, in fours; but in the unique Museum copy, H iv, the last leaf, is wanting, containing the last verse of the envoy, or “Le. A. to the Reder,” and the Colophon. Mr. Hazlitt dates the book ‘circa 1549.’

For this copy in the British Museum I had 4 vain searches in the Catalogues, but then found it under ‘Lucretia of Sienna,’ Case 21. c. It has *y* very often for *i* of No. 2, and has better readings. Mr. Hazlitt says that Bagford speaks of an impression in 4to by William Copland,—perhaps the same as No. 3.

2. Mr. Henry Huth has a unique copy of an edition in small 8vo, dated 1560, ‘imprinted at London by John Kyng,’ (A B C D E F G H in eights) which he has kindly lent me, and from which the extracts below are printed, though collated for words with the Brit. Mus. ed.; and 3. in the Pepys Library at Magdalen College, Cambridge, Mr. Hazlitt notes an edition of 1567,

¹ He was an able man, but of loose morals, and spent the latter years of his life in extending the power of the Papacy, thus undoing much of the work of his earlier years when he strove to curb that power. He was on an embassy in Scotland, to make peace between the English and Scotch, when James I. was slain. Pius II. was a great patron of learning, and a bitter enemy of the Turks.

'Imprynted at London in Louthbury by me Wyllyam Copland.' The date 1567 is no doubt right, as other books of W. Copland's are known as late.

The story is a somewhat warm one for an embryo Pope to have written, though the moral of it is to warn men against unlawful love, as its pains are greater than its pleasures. As the verse envoy says:

Yet coulde I shewe you of many other
mo,
Yf leyser not wanted, but now I let
it pas,
Whiche by theyr loue were con-
strayned also

To mortal death; more pitye alas!
therfore thys boke in Englysh drawe
was
For an example, therby to eschew
the paynes of loue, ere after they it
rewe.

The interest of the book—such as it is—is the curious disclosure of the false notions of honour and right prevailing in Italian society in the middle of the 15th century. Its story is this:—

When the Emperor Sigismund enters the town of Sienna in Tuscany, four ladies meet him, among whom,

Luces the yong Ladie, not yet of twenty yeres, shone in great bryghtnes, yong maryed, in the famly of the Camilis, vnto a very rich man named Menelaus, vnworthie too whom suche beautye shulde serue at home, *but wel worthye of his wyfe to be deceyued.* The stature of the Lady Luces was more hygher than the other. Her heare plenteous, and lyke vnto the goulde wyre, which hanged not downe behinde her, after the manner and custome of maydens, but in goulde and stone she had enclosed it; her forhed highe, of semelye space, wythoute wrynkell, her browes beute, facioned with fewe heares, by due space deuyded, her eyne shining with such brightnes that, lyke as the sonne, they ouercame the behoulders loking; with those she might, whome she woulde, slee, and slayne, when she wold, reuyue. Strayt as thriede was her noose, & by euen deuision parted; her fayre chekes, nothyng was more amiable then these chekes, nor nothyng more delectable to behold, wherin, when she dyd laughe, appeared two proper pyttes¹, whiche no man did se, that wished not to haue kissed. Her mouth smal and comely, her lippes of corall colour, handsom to bite on; her small tethe, wel set in order, semed Cristal, throught which the quieryng tonge dyd send furth, not wordes, but moost pleasaunt armony. What shall I shewe the beautye of her chynne, or the whitenesse of her necke? No thyng was in that bodie not too bee praysed, as the outwarde aparauoces shewed token of that that was inwarde²: no man beheld her *that* dyd not enuye her husbände. . . . Nothyng was more sweter, nor soherer, than her talcke. . . . Her apparell was diuers; she wanted nether broches, borders, gyrdels, nor rynges. The abilimentes of her head was sumptuose, many pearles, many diamantes, were on her fingers and in her borders. (Sign. A. ii. back, to A. iii. ed. *Kynge*; A ii back to A iii, *Brit. Mus. ed.*)

This young beauty, and Eurialus of Tuscany, a companion of the Emperor's, fall in love with one another at first sight, and

¹ pytes, *Kynge*.

² of that was in warder, *Kynge*; of that that was inwarde, *Brit. Mus. ed.*

desire one another, but are unable to meet. At last, Luces trusts her secret to Zosias, an old Almayne servant of her husband's; but he only pretends to deliver her messages, and puts her off. Eurialus, unable to get another messenger, sends a letter to Luces by a bawd. Luces orders the woman off, and tears the letter in pieces before her; but after she is gone, puts the pieces together, and reads the letter. A correspondence follows, and Luces, holding back at first, at length consents to receive Eurialus into her house. But her *brother-in-law's* plan to admit him is frustrated by her mother, and then Eurialus is sent to Rome for 2 months. Luces mourns; but on his return, his servant finds him a tavern near, out of whose window he can talk to Luces. Zosias is then convinced that as the love *will* go on, it must be kept secret; and he lets Eurialus in, disguised as a porter, among other men carrying wheat. Eurialus takes Luces in his arms. Her husband comes; she hides Eurialus first in one closet and then, by a trick, in another, till Menelaus her husband has gone, and the lovers are left alone:—

Luces was in a lyghte garmente, that without plyght or wrynkell shewed her bodey as it was, a fayre necke, and the lyght of her¹ eyne lyke the bryght sonne, gladsome countenaunce and a merye face, her chekes lyke lylies medled wyth roses; swete and sober was² her laughyng, her breast large, and the two papes, semyng apples gathered in Venus gardaine, meued the courage of toucher.³ (Sign. E. iiii. back, *Kynge's ed.*; E. ii. *Brit. Mus. ed.*)

The lovers meet again for an hour when Luces's husband has gone to the country, and Zosias brings in Eurialus from the hay-loft. Then, as no other chance of meeting is open to them, Eurialus has recourse to *Menelaus's cousin*, Pandalus, to arrange a meeting for them. Eurialus shows him that if he doesn't do this, Luces will either kill herself or run away with him, and thus bring open scandal on her family and her husband's: whereas, if he'll manage the matter quietly, nothing will be known, no harm will be done, but great good, and Eurialus will get the Emperor to make Pandalus an Earl! So one night, when Menelaus is away, Luces lets Eurialus into the house, swoons from excitement, but recovers, and they spend the night together.

After long waiting, they avoid Luces's watchers, and often meet; but then the Emperor determines to go to Rome, and Luces proposes to Eurialus to carry her off with him. He how-

¹ *Kynge* leaves out 'her.'

² as, *Kynge*.

thoucher, *Kynge*.

ever declines to face the scandal and danger of this, hoping to be able to come back to her soon. But the separation makes him fall ill; and when he does get back to Sienna, he can only see Lucrez from the street, and write letters to her. She shortly dies of grief; he loses all pleasure in life,

& yet, though the Emperour gaue hym in mariage a right noble and excellent Ladye, yet he neuer enioied after, but in conclusyon pitifully wasted his painful lyfe.

The fruitless attempt of another knight, Pacorus, to make love to Lucrez, is told in the little book, which shows how corrupt and false the ideas on love of Italian gentlemen and ladies of the time must have been.¹ Two extracts from the book, on Italian women, and servants, are given in the *Notes* to my edition of Andrew Boorde's *Introduction* and *Dyetary* etc. for the Early English Text Society, Extra Series, 1870.

We are also indebted to another original of Pope Pius II.'s for another English translation :

'Here begynneth the Eglogues of Alexander Barclay, preest, whereof the fyrst thre conteyneth the myseryes of courters and courtes, of all prynces in generall. The matter wherof was translated into Englyshe by the sayd Alexander, in fourme of Dialoges, out of a boke named in Latin *Miseria curialium*, compyled by Æneas Silvius, Poete and Oratour, whiche after was Pope of Rome, and named Pius.' Colophon : 'Thus endeth the fourthe Eglogge of Alexandre Barclay, conteynynge the maners of riche men anenst poetes and other clerkes. Emprinted by Richarde Pynson, printer to the kynges noble grace.' 4to, black letter, 22 leaves, with woodcuts.

XV. *Virgil's Life.* Not that of the Roman poet Publius Virgilius Maro, but of his Middle-Age representative, when he (Virgil) was turned into a Magician : "This Boke treateth of the Lyfe of Virgilius, and of His Deth, And Many Maruayles that he dyd in hys Lyfe Tyme by Whychcrafte and Nygramancye thorough the helpe of the Deuyls of Hell. [Colophon] Thus endethe the lyfe of Virgilius, with many dyuers consaytes that he dyd. Emprynted in the cytie of Anwarpe By me Johan' Doesborcke dwellynge at the camerporte [*circa* 1520] 4to, 30 leaves. Bod-

¹ A wife's brother-in-law, and her husband's cousin, both help her to commit adultery; lust, called love, is held more binding than marriage; women's passions alone are their guide; wives are watched like criminals; and every married woman is fair game.

leian (Douce)"—*Hazlitt*.¹ Another edition—"the booke of Virgill"—was licensed to William Coplande in 1561-2,² and is no doubt the incomplete copy among Garrick's books in the British Museum. Mr. Thoms says that this edition is so imperfect that he couldn't reprint it, and he had therefore to take Mr. Utterson's reprint of Doesborcke's, which was of course more handy, and saved trouble. This (*Thoms*, ii. 21-59) tells us that Virgilius was the son of a 'knyght of Champanien' and the daughter of a Roman Senator, and was born in the days of the grandson of Remus, whose father slew his uncle Romulus. The boy learnt necromancy from books which he was shown by a devil, who wriggled out of a hole in a hill when Virgil pulled out a board there. The devil had been conjured and shnt up there, out of a mau's body, till the Judgment-day; and Virgil, having got his books, bet the Devil he couldn't wriggle into the hole again. But the Devil did it, and then Virgil shut him up again. Virgil then taught at Tolenten, came to Rome to recover his heritage, which he did by miraculous magic, shutting up his castle and lands in fixed air, making the Emperour Perseydes and his army lift their feet up and down in the same place for a day, etc. Then he made love to the fairest lady in Rome, and was by her hung out—like Hippocras (see my *Saint Graal*, ii. 31)—in a basket half-way up her tower, for which he revenged himself by making the space between her legs, she being set on a scaffold, the only place where a light could be got for 3 days in Rome. Then he married a wife; then he made a set of idols for all the countries subject to Rome, so that when any of the countries were going to rebel, its idol rang a bell, and gave the Senators notice. Then he made a copper horse, man, and dogs, to hunt and kill all the thieves and night-walkers in Rome; then an ever-burning lamp; then the goodliest orchard in the world; then an image that deprived of lust every woman that lookt at it, which Virgil's wife, at the Roman women's request, twice cast down, for which Virgil hated her, and left the women to work their will. Then he indulged in the Sodau's daughter, whom he carried off by a bridge of air; and, when caught on his second visit, delivered himself by magic, carried the lady away, and built Naples for her; 'and the fundacyon of it was of egges.' Then the Emperour of Rome

¹ This was reprinted by Utterson, and for Pickering in 1827, in Mr. Thoms's *Early Prose Romances*, a work revised and reprinted in 1858.

² Stationers' Register A, leaf 73 back; Collier's *Stat. Reg.* i. 47.

besieged Naples, and Virgil delivered it, and peopled it with scholars and merchants. Then he made a metal serpent to bite off false-swearers' hands; but an artful woman evaded the punishment, and Virgil destroyed his serpent. Lastly, he made a wonderful castle, and told his man to cut him in pieces, salt him, and let oil drop from a lamp for 9 days on him, so that he might get young again. But just before the charm was completed, the Emperor killed the man who lookt after the lamp; on which, a naked chylde—the new Virgil, underdone, no doubt—ran 3 times round the barrel, saying “cursed be the tyme that ye cam euer here,” and vanished; “and thus abyd Virgilius in the barell, dead.”

On the legend, Mr. Thoms's Introduction, vol. ii. p. 1-17, may be consulted.

XVI. *The Castle of Ladiez.* “Here begynneth the Boke of the Cyte of Ladyes the which boke is devyded into iii partes. The fyrst parte telleth how & by whom the wall & the cloystre about the Cyte was made. The seconde parte telleth how & by whom the Cyte was buylded within & peopled. The thyrde parte telleth how & by whom the hygh battylments of the towres were parfytely made” &c. No place or date. 4to. Dibdin (*Ames* ii. 378) calls the copy *he* saw, a very ‘curious and amusing volume,’ says that it's in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and gives an extract from the first chapter which doesn't show the character of the book at all. Mr. Hy. Huth has another copy of the book, which was originally in Mr. F. S. Ellis's hands, incomplete, but Mr. Lily completed it by a facsimile page. Mr. Huth is unluckily in the country when this sheet goes to press; but on his return he will enable me to report on the book and its story in my *Notes*, and settle whether Laneham's *Castle of Ladiez* is this *Cyte of Ladyes*. If it is not, the *Castle* is not now known to bibliographers.

XVII. *The Wido Edyth.* Of this, before Laneham's time, we know two editions, 1. John Rastell's in 1525, ‘Enprynted at London at the sygne of y^e Meremaide at Polls gate next to Chepe syde The yere of our Lord. M. V. C. XXV. The xxiii. day of March,’ of which a copy is at Wentworth,¹

“The Widow Edyth. XII mery gestys of one called Edyth
The lying Wydow whych yet still lyueth.”

¹ Of this edition not more than 3 copies are known. It extends to sign. D. iii. Hazlitt's *Jest Books*, 3rd series, p. 28.

2. Richarde Johnes's: "XII mery Jests of the wyddow Edyth. 1573:" and this gives the supposed author's name "Finis. by Walter Smith." Copies are in the Bodleian, and in Mr. Hy. Huth's library. Mr. W. C. Hazlitt reprinted the 1573 edition in his capital collection of Early Jestbooks 1860, 3rd series, p. 27. The *Jests* are anecdotes of how Widow Edyth cheated people by representing herself to be a rich widow; and the poem is written by one Walter Smith,—seemingly a servant of Sir Thomas More's at Chelsea—one of her lovers. The list of the Twelve Jests from Mr. Hazlitt's reprint will be, perhaps, enough account of the book:

The first mery Jest declareth, how this faire and merye Mayden Edith was maryed to one Thomas Ellys, and how she ran away with another, by whom she had a bastard Doughter, and how she deceiued a Gentleman, bearynge him in hand how her Doughter was Heire to faire Landes and great Richesse.

The second mery Jest: how this lying Edyth made a poore man to vnthatch his House, bearyng him in hand that she wold couer it with Lead: and how she deceiued a Barbour, makyng him beleue she was a widow, and had great aboundance of Gooddes.

The thyrd mery Jest: how this wydow Edyth deceiued her Hoste at Hormynger, and her Hoste at Brandonfery, and borrowed money of them both, and also one mayster Guy, of whome she borrowed iiii. Marke.

The fourth mery Jest, how this wydow Edith deceiued a Doctor of diuinitie, at S. Thomas of Akers in London, of v. Nobles he layd out for her, and how she gaue hym the slyp.

The fifth merye Jest: how this wydow Edyth deceiued a man and his wife that were ryding on Pylgremage, of iiii Nobles that they laid out for her; and how she deceiued a scriuener in London, whose name was M. Rowse.

The sixt merye Jest: how this wydowe Edyth deceiued a Draper in London of a new Gowne and a new Kyrtell; and how she sent hym for a Nest of Gobblers and other Plate to that scriuener whome she had deceiued afore.

The vii mery Jest: how she deceiued a seruuant of Sir Thomas Neuells, who in hope to haue her in Mariage, with al her great riches, kepte her company tyl al his money was spent; and then she tooke her flight, and forsooke him.

The eight mery Jest: how this wydow Edyth deceiued a ser-

naunt of the Bysshop of Rochesters, with her coggyng, and boastyng of her great Richesse; who like wise thought to haue had her in Maryage.

The ix mery Jest: how she deceiued a Lord, *som-tyme* Earle of Arundell: and how he sent v. of his men seruantes and a handmaid to bere her company, and fetch her Daughter, who, as she boasted, was an Heire of great Landes.

The tenth merye Jest: how she deceiued three yong men of Chelsey, that were seruantes to Syr Thomas More, and were all three suters vnto her for Maryage: and what mischaunce happened vnto her.

The xi. mery Jest: how she deceiued three yong men of the Lord Legates seruants, with her great liyng, crakyng, and boastyng of her great Treasure and Jueiles.

The xii. merye Jest: how this wydow Edyth deceyued the good man of the three Cuppes in Holburne, and one John Cotes: and how they both ryd with her to S. Albans to ouersee her houses and landes: and how thei were rewarded [or sold, and had to ride back to London, the widow having slipt away from them: "God saue the Wydow, where euer she wende!" says the forgyving Smith in his last line].

Walter Smith, the writer of the poem, comes-in in 'the Tenth mery Jest' (p. 75). The widow, after taking-in the Earl of Arundel, stops at Eltham for 3 weeks and a day, then walks to a thorp [village] called Batersay, takes a wherry, and is rowed over to Chelsea, where she is housed at Sir Thomas More's. There she boasts so of her property at Eltham—2 worsted looms, 2 mills, a brewery, 4 plows, 15 men-servants, 7 maids, etc. etc.—

'That three yong men she cast in a heat,
Which seruants were in the same place,
And all they woed her a good pace.'

The first was Thomas Croxton, servant to Master Alengton; the second Thomas Arthur, servant to Master Roper—Sir Thomas More's son-in-law; and the third was Walter Smith, who dwelt at Chelsea. After the widow has gammoned Croxton and Arthur, Smith meets her in the cloister, takes her in his arms, kisses her, and tells her how he loves her. She says she loves him, and that when she comes to Chelsea again, she'll bring him a crucifix of pure gold as a remembrance of her;

Then Wa[il]ter stode on tipto, and gan him self avance;
"I thank you," quod he, "euen with all my hart."
He kissed her deliciously, and then dyd depart.

She comes back to Chelsea the same night; but by then, Thomas Arthur has found out what an impostor she is; and they play her a trick, put 'Pouder Sinipari' in her food, give her a violent purging, and then get her put in jail for 3 weeks.

XVIII. *The King and the Tanner.* The notice of the earliest printed edition of this short story is in the Stationers' Register A, leaf 116 back, (Collier, i. 99)

W greffeth Receaved of William greffeth, for his lycense for pryntinge of a boke intituled "the story of kyngge henry the iiijth and the Tanner of tamworth" iiij^d

But no copy of this is now known. The earliest printed copy we know is that by Danter in 1596, which Percy cookt sadly in his *Reliques*, ii. 91, ed. 1812, where it is called "A merry, pleasant and delectable history between King *Edward* the Fourth and a Tanner of Tamworth." Heywood also took Edward as the hero of the ballad, and used its incidents in his *Edward the Fourth*, Shakespere Society, 1842 (*Collier*). The earliest copy of the ballad known to us is a strongly provincial one in the MS. More Ee, 4, 35, in the University Library, Cambridge, which has been printed by Ritson in his *Pieces of Ancient Popular Poetry*, 1791, and by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt in his *Select Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, 1864, i. 1, as "The King and the Barker." It does not name its king, and makes its tanner one of 'Dantre' or Daventry in Warwickshire, but tells the same story as Danter's copy of 1596: 'The kyng' overtakes a tanner riding a cob, and sitting on a lot of black cow hides; the tanner takes the king for a thrifless scamp, and then for a thief, when he sees the king's men; but they talk together, and when Lord Basset kneels to the king, the tanner is afraid for his life. Then the king changes his high horse for the tanner's low one, to go hunting under the branches; the tanner puts his cowhides on the king's saddle, their horns prick the horse, and he breaks the tanner's head against the bough of an oak. The king laughs; they change horses again; the tanner promises the king a drink the next time they meet in Daintry, and the king gives him a hundred shillings.

Ballads and stories of like kind to this are 'John de Reeve' and the 'Kinge and Miller' in the Percy *Folio Ballads and Romances*, vol. ii. 147, 559, 'Rauf Coilzear,' 'King Edward and the Shepherd,' 'The King and the Hermit,' etc. In the East as well as the West, the subject of kings mixing familiarly with their

poor subjects has been popular; Haroun-al-Raschid, as well as King Alfred, is an instance of it. See Percy's and Prof. Child's introductions to 'Edw. IV. and the Tanner of Tamworth,' etc.

XIX. *Frier Rous.* No copy of this book is known before 1620, but Collier, i. 199, gives this entry from the Stationers' Register A (on leaf 179,)

Alde B of John Alde, for his lycense for pryntinge of a boke intituled
"Freer Russe" iij^d

As John Alde's son Edward issued the edition of 1620, which is reprinted in Thoms's *Early Prose Romances*, vol. i. p. 261, ed. 1858, it is probable that the later edition did not differ much from the one that Captain Cox read. "The Historie of Frier Rush: How he came To A House of Religion to Seeke Service, and Being Entertained by The Priour, was First made Under Cooke. Being Full of Pleasant Mirth and Delight for Young People," tells how Rush (or Puck, or Robin Goodfellow,) is 'a divell' sent by Belphegor, Asmodeus, and Beelzebub, as a servant into a Monastery, where he brings to the Prior a fair young gentlewoman, and to all the monks the women they most desire; throws the Cook into a kettle of boiling water, for beating him; gives the friars bacon in their pottage on fast-days; makes truncheons for them and sets them all by the ears, so that they have a regular fight, ending with broken heads, arms, and legs; puts tar instead of grease to the Prior's waggon- (or carriage-) wheels, makes him pay for wine he doesn't drink; breaks the dormitory stairs, so that all the friars come tumbling on one another as they go to matins; and cuts a farmer's cow in two, and cooks one half for the friars. Then comes the old episode of the Devils meeting and reporting their deeds, and he who's made the Religious sin, getting highest praise¹: but the farmer overhears the reports, tells the Prior that Rush is a devil, and he is accordingly turned out. He turns better; goes as servant to a husbandman whose wife is unfaithful with the Priest; and then catches the Priest hidden, first in a chest, afterwards in some straw, and lastly in a basket hung up by a rope. Rush throws the Priest on the dunghill, whacks him, drags him through a pool, and through the town, at his horse's tail. He does the husbandman's heavy work in a trice; gets another devil conjured out of a girl's body by his friend

¹ See R. Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwyte*, etc.

the Prior, carries a load of lead up to the Prior's church-roof, flies home with the Prior on his back; and then the Prior "commanded him to goe into an olde castle that stood farre within the forrest, and never more to come out, but to remaine there for ever. From which Devill and all other Devills, defend us good Lord! Amen!"

XX. *Howleglas.* Of this work we know of three different editions by Wyllyam Copland, though of each only one imperfect copy has survived. One copy has no colophon; the other two were printed after Wyllyam Coplande had left his predecessor Robert's old house, the Rose Garland in Fletestrete. The first of these, that in the Brit. Mus., was 'Imprynted at London in T. at the V. on the 3 Cr. Wharfe;' the second, or Bodleian copy, was 'Imprinted at Lothbury;' where W. Copland printed from 1562-3 (see my *Boorde Forewords*, p. 1.) to 1567 (see above, p. xxxix). The earliest ed. must have borne date after 1547 (the latest date of Robert Coplande's books) or 1548 (the earliest date of Wyllyam Coplande's). To Mr. Collier is due the credit of having brought the Lothbury edition to public notice, and of having shown that the Bodleian copy was possibly the poet Spenser's, and lent by him to Gabriel Harvey¹ (*Bibliographical Catal.* i. 379-381). The title is "Here

¹ [4^o. Z. 3. Art. Seld. (Bodl. Libr.) last page, back of Colophon.]

This Howletglasse, with Skoggin, Skelton, & L[a]zarill[o], giuen me at London, of Mr. Spensar / xx. Decembris, 1[5]78. on condition [y^t I] shoold bestowe y^e reading of them ou[er] before y^e first of January, j[med]iatly ensuing: otherwise to forfeit unto him my Lucian jn fower uolumes. Whereupon I was y^e rather jnduced to trifle away so many howers, as were jdely ouerpasse in running thorough y^e f[oresai]d foolish bookes: wherein methowg[h]t not all fower together seemed comparable for s[utt]le & crafty feates with Jon Miller / whose witty shiftes, & practises ar rep[or]ted amongst Skeltons Tales. [Dyce's *Skelton's Works*, vol. i, p. lxvi.]

[In the same hand, previous page, but crossed through with the pen:—"Skeltons only Jon Miller, worth all Howletglasse, Skoggin, and Skelton besyds."]

The book, says Mr. G. Parker, has evidently been read through, as many passages are underlined, and crosses and strokes occur in the margin; and in the *Table*, at end, there are lines, crosses, and notes, all by the same hand.

TABLE. Thus:—*How howleglas wold flye fro a house top.* [MS. note.] Skoggins patterne.

" after chapt. 12, is added in MS.

A miracle upon y^e hault, & lame. *Idem* jn *Mensa philosophica*

" on the next page blynde [MS. note].

how howleglas gaue, xx, gyldens to, xii, poore men for Christes loue,

" next line A great braggadocia [MS. note].

how howleglas feared his host w^t a dead woulfe.

beginnethe a merye Jeste of a man called Howleglas, and of many maruelous thinges and Jestes that he dyd in his lyffe in Eastlande and in many other places." The book is sm. 4to, without date, printed by Copland. 2 copies of this work are in the British Museum. Here are the Prologue and Contents:—

The Prologue.—For the great desyryng and praying of my good frandes,¹—and I *the* first writer of this boke might not denye them, —Thus haue I comp[y]led² & gathered much knaunshnes & falsnes of one Howleglas, made and done within his³ lyfe, whiche Howleglas dyed *the* yere of our lorde God. M. CCCC. & L.⁴ Nowe I desyre to be pardoned both before ghostly & worldly, afore highe & lowe, afore noble and vnnoble. And right lowly I requyre all those *that* shall reade or heare this presente Ieste, my ignoraunce to excuse. This fable is not but only to renewe *the* mindes of men or women of all degrees *from the* vse of sadnesse, to passe the tyme with laughter or myrthe, And forbecause *the* simple knowyng persones shuld beware if folkes can see. Me thinke it is better to⁵ passe the tyme with suche a mery Ieste, and laughe there at, and doo no synne, than for to wepe, and do synne.

Contents.—Howe Howleglas, as he was borne, was christened iii. tymes vpon one day. How Howleglas aunswered a man that asked the hyghe waye. How that Howleglas sat vpon his fathers horse, behynde hym. How Howleglas fell fro the rope into the water. How Howleglas mother learned hym, and bad him go to a craft. How Howleglas got bread for his mother. How Howleglas was stolen out of a bye-hyue by nyght. How Howleglas was hyred of a pryest. How Hologlas was made a paryshe clarke. How Howleglas wold flye fro a house-top. How Howleglas made hymselfe a physicion, and how he begyled a doctour with hys medicines. How Hologlas made [that] a sicke chylde shyld shyte, *that* afore myght not shyte, and howe he gat great worship therof. How Howleglas made hole all the sycke folke that were in the hospytall, where the spere of our lord is. How Howleglas was hyred to be a bakers seruant. How Howleglas was put in wages with the foster of Anhalte, for to watche vpon a tower to se whax his enemies came, and than for to blowe an horne to

¹ frendes, B.

² compled, A; compyled, B.

³ dis, B.

⁴ The end of the book says 'M. CCC. & fyftie.'

⁵ no, A; to, B.

warne them therof. How Howleglas wan a great deale of mony wyth a poynt of foolyshnesse. How the duke of Lunenborough banyshed Howleglas out of his lande. How Howleglas set his hostyse vpon the hoothe ashes with her bare arce. How Howleglas toke vpon hym to be a paynter. How Howleglas had a great disputacion with all the douctours of Pragem in Bemen. How Howleglas became a pardoner. How Howleglas did eate for money in the towne Banberbetehe. How Howleglas went to Rome to speke *with* the pope. How Howleglas deceived iii. Jewes with durt. How Howleglas had gotten the persons horse by his confession. How Howleglas was hyred of a blacke smyth. How Howleglas was hyred of a shoemaker. How Howleglas serued a tayler. How Howleglas solde turdes for fat. How Howleglas through his subtile disceytes deceyed a wyne drawer in Lubeke. How Howleglas became a maker of Spectacles, and howe he could fynde no worke in no lande. How Howleglas was hyred of a marchaunt man to be his cooke. How howleglas was desyred to dyner. How howleglas wane a piece of cloth, of a man of the country. How howleglas gave xx. gyldens to .xii. poore men, for Christes loue. How howleglas feared his host *with* a dead woulfe. How howleglas flied a hound, and gaue the skyn for halfe hys dynner. How howleglas serued *the* same hostise another tim[e], and laye on a whele. How Howleglas serued a holander *with* a rosted aple. How Howleglas made a woman that sold erthen pottes to smyte them all in pieces. How Howleglas brake the stayres that the munkes shulde come down on to matyns, and how thei fell downe into the yarde. How Howleglas bought creame of the women of the cuntrey that brought it for to sell. How Howlegl[a]s came to a scholer, to make verses with him to the vse of reason. How Howleglas was seeke at Molen¹, and how he dyd shyte in the poticaries boxes, and was borne in the holy ghoste. How Howleglas deceined his ghostly father. How Howleglas made his testament. How Howleglas was buried.

¶ Thus endeth the lyfe of Howleglas.

XXI. *Gargantua.* 'The History of Gargantua, a romance translated from Babelais, and alluded to by Shakespeare. A book entitled "The History of Garagantua," was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company in 1594, but there was no doubt a much earlier edition. The author of Harry White's Humour, 1640,

¹ Mr. Halliwell prints 'moten.'

“is of this opiuiion, that if the histories of Garagantua and Tom Thumbe be true, by consequence, Bevis of Hampton and Scoggin’s Jestes must needes be authentically.”—*Halliwel*, p. 14. Rabelais was born about 1483; he began to publish his Gargantua and Pantagruel in parts in 1535; and he died in 1553. As we have no notice of an English translation before 1575, it is possible that Laneham had seen the French original in his travels, and spoke of that here, without thinking whether Captain Cox knew French or not.

XXII. *Robin Hood.* The entries before 1575 under this heading in Mr. Hazlitt’s Handbook, are

1. A geste of Robyn hode. (A very imperfect copy of an edition from the press of W. Chepman and A. Myllar, *circa* 1508, in 4to, black letter, is in the Adv. Lib. Edinb. A perfect exemplar should consist of — leaves.)

2. (a.) Here begynneth a lytell geste of Robyn hode. (Colophon) Explycit. Kyng Edwarde and Robyn Hode & Lytell Johan. Enprented at London in Flete strete at the sygne of the sone By Wynken de Worde. n. d. 4to, 32 leaves. With a woodcut on the title page, and Caxton’s device at end. In verse. Public Library, Cambridge (held to be unique).

(b.) A lytell Geste, etc. 4to, black letter. Printed with the same types as W. de Worde’s edits. of Memorare Novissima and Thordynary of Christen men. Bodleian (Douce’s fragm.).

(In a bookseller’s Catalogue for 1865 were several leaves of this tract, ascribed to Pynson’s press, but query.)

3. (a.) A mery geste of Robyn Hoode and of hys lyfe, wyth a newe playe for to be played in Maye games very plesaunte and full of pastyme. (This title is over a woodcut of Robin Hood and Little John.) (Colophon) Thus endeth the play of Robyn Hode. Imprinted at London vpon the thre Crane Wharfe by wylliam Copland. [ab. 1561.] 4to, black letter, 34 leaves, or J 2, in fours. Br. Museum (Garrick). (The Geste commences on the back of the title page, thus; Here begynneth a lytell geste of Robyn hoode and his mery men, and of the proude shyryfe of Notyngham: concluding on H 2 recto with, ‘Thus endeth the lyfe of Robyn hode.’ On H 2 verso begins the Play, and occupiēs 9 pages, ending on J 2 verso.)

4. As Robyn Hood in Barnesdale stood. (Mentioned in

Udall's translation of 'Erasmii Apothegmata,' 1542, but no early copy has yet been found.)

5. A ballett of Robyn hod. Licensed to John Allde in 1562-3.

As Wyllyam Copland's edition of the *Mery Geste and Play* is the one nearest to Laneham's time, we'll suppose that 'the black Prince' and Captain Cox had it, and say what it contains.

The well-known *Lytell Geste* tells in 8 fyttes how 1. Robin,—with Little John, Scathelock, and Much, the miller's son,—feeds and clothes, and lends £400 to, a knight who is mourning for the almost certain loss of his lands, pledged for £400 to the Abbot of St. Mary's, York, because his son has slain a Lancashire knight and a squire. 2. The day for redemption of the mortgage arrives; the Abbot makes sure of getting the land, and has bribed the Justice to take his side, when the knight comes to beg for longer time to pay off the mortgage in, and offers to serve the Abbot till he can repay him. The Abbot refuses scornfully, and appeals to the Justice to declare that the place is his. On this the Knight pulls out Robin's £400, and gets back his land. He afterwards saves up the money, and starts with 100 bowmen, carrying 100 bows etc. as a present, to pay Robin; and on his way releases a strange archer at a match, who has beaten all the other shots, and is to be slain from envy. 3. Little John¹ turns man-servant to the Sheriff of Nottingham, gets up a row in the house because he has to wait for his dinner, fights the big cook, and then persuades him to join in robbing the Sheriff, and going off to Robin Hood. In the forest, Little John finds the Sheriff, and by a trick brings him to Robin, who makes him sleep in the forest, and lets him go, on his swearing never to hurt Robin or his men. 4. Little John, Much, and Scathlock, take a monk of St. Mary's Abbey, York, and frighten away 50 of his 52 followers. Robin gives the monk a dinner, and takes away all his gold, £800 and more. The knight to whom Robin had lent £400, then brings it him back, with 20 marks interest, and a present of 100 bows with arrows, etc. Robin accepts the bows, but refuses the £400, as he's already been paid by the monk of St. Mary's. He then gives the knight another £400 for his bows. 5. The Sheriff

¹ He is represented in the woodcut on Copland's title-page as a fierce little man in complete armour, with his right hand on a very big scimitar, sheathed, and his left hand carrying a battle-axe longer than himself, while Robin Hood is a very tall archer, with bow, arrows, and feather to match.

of Nottingham proclaims a shooting-match. Robin wins the prize. The Sheriff tries to take him and his men; but they make good their retreat to Syr Rychard-at-the-Lee's friendly castle. 6. There the Sheriff besets them, but Sir Richard bids him off, and says he'll answer to the king for his acts. To London the Sheriff goes; and the king promises him that he'll come to Nottingham in a fortnight, and take Robin. Meantime the Sheriff waylays Sir Richard; but his wife at once tells Robin; and he overtakes the party, kills the Sheriff, and frees Sir Richard. 7. The King comes to Nottingham, finds all his deer gone, and is very wroth, but can't find Robin Hood. At last, drest like an Abbot and monks, the king and five of his knights soon meet Robin, are robbed of all their money, £40, and the Abbot (or King) invites Robin to dine with the King. Glad at this, Robin gives the Abbot dinner, serves him, has a shooting-match for him, and takes a buffet from him when he, Robin, misses putting his arrow inside the rose-garland bull's-eye. Then Robin and Sir Richard recognize the King; kneel, and crave pardon, which is granted. 8. The King gets Robin to clothe him and his knights in green; they all go together to Nottingham, and Robin stays at court for 15 months till all his money's gone. Then he journeys home to 'Bernysdale' and dwells 'in grene wode' twenty-two years, till the wicked Prioress of Kyrkesley, incited by Sir Roger of Donkestere, lets him blood, to his death.

The 'newe playe for to be played in Maye games, very plesante and full of pastyme' as the title-page says, or 'verye proper to be played in Maye games,' as the heading on leaf H ii back (unsigned) has it, is a dramatization, with changes, of 'Robin Hood and Friar Tuck,' and 'Robin Hood and the Potter.' Ritson says in his *Robin Hood Ballads* that he has reprinted the Play 'in another place.' Robin tells his men how he fought with a Friar, and the Friar took his purse. Who will go and fetch the Friar? Little John volunteers; but Friar Tuck appears; and after much mutual abuse the Friar takes Robin on his back, and throws him into the water. They fight; Robin blows for his men; the Friar whistles for his men, not dogs:—

Now cut and bause,
Bring forth the clubbes and staues,
And downe with those ragged knaves,—

when Robin proposes to the Friar to serve him, and have not

only golde and fee, but also 'a Lady free.' The lady or 'huckle duckle' as the Friar calls her, he eagerly accepts; and then comes the second incident. Robin complains of a proud Potter who won't pay passage-money for his use of the road. Who'll make him? Little John says that none of 'em can; but Robin undertakes to do it. Then the potter's boy appears, and Robin smashes all his pots. The Potter comes up, abuses Robin, and offers to fight him with sword and buckler. Robin accepts, tells Little John

Be the knaue neuer so stoute,
I shall rappe him on the snoute
And put hym to flyghte.

Thus endeth the play of Robyn Hode.

Whether the Potter got rapt on the snowt, 'wyllyam Copland' of 'the thre Crane wharfe' does not say; but doubtless the play, when acted, wound up with the Potter's beating and flight.

Six imperfect versions of Robin Hood ballads differing somewhat from any others known are in the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, vol. 1, p. 13-58. 'Robin Hood his Death,' p. 50, is the most important.

We know from Latimer and Stubbes what a hold the Robin Hood games had on the common folk in their days. In Henry the VIII's time Robin was popular at Court too. Witness Hall's accounts, of which here is one:—

"The kyng, sone after [Henry VIII, after 12 Jan. 1509-10] came to Westminster with the Quene, and all their train: And on a tyme beyng there, his grace, therles of Essex, Wilshire, and other noble menne, to the number of twelue, came sodainly in a mornyng into the Quenes Chambre, all appareled in shorte cotes of Kentishe Kendal, with hodes on their heddes, and hosen of the same, euery one of them his bowe and arrowes, and a sworde and a bucklar, like outlawes, or *Robyn Hodes men*; whereof the Quene, the Ladies, and al other there, were abashed, as well for the straunge sight, as also for their sodain commyng: and after certain daunces, and pastime made, thai departed." *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 513, ed. 1809. See too the Maying of 1515, when the king's guard dressed up as Robin Hood and his men, and gave the king and queen a venison breakfast at Shooter's Hill, *ib.* p. 582.

XXIII. *Adam Bel, Clim of the Clough, and William of Cloudeley.*

Of this well-known ballad on the three bold outlaws of the north we know only, 1. an early fragment which Mr. Hazlitt thinks was printed by Wynkyn de Worde (*E. Pop. Poetry*, ii. 132) and which Mr. J. P. Collier said in 1865 was 'not long since discovered as the fly-leaf to another book' (*Bibl. Catal.* i. 11); 2. a complete though incorrect edition among Garrick's books in the British Museum, 'Imprinted at London in Lothburye by Wyllyam Copland', doubtless after 1561, though it is not in the Stationers' Register A. But in this MS., on leaf 24, next to an entry of a license to 'William Coplande,' stands, under the year 1557-8, this:

To John Kyngge, to prynte this boke Called Adam bell &c.; and for his lycense he geveth to the howse [no sum.]

We get a notice of another edition (no doubt) before 1575¹ in Register B, (*Collier's Stat. Reg.* ii. 155) by Awdeley who wrote the *Fraternytye of Vacabondes*,² and was called John Sampson, or Awdeley, or Sampson Awdeley.

[1581-2] 15 Januarij.

John Charlwood. Rd. of him, for his lycence to printe theis Copies hereafter mentioned, &c. Copies which were Sampson Awdeleys, and now lycenced to the said John Charlwood &c. . . . Adam Bell.

Some pleasant talk and bibliographical cram on the ballad and its subject, the reader will find in Mr. Hazlitt's introduction to it in *Early Pop. Poetry*, ii. 131, and Mr. Collier's *Bibl. Catal.* i. 11, while a slightly differing copy of the ballad is in the *Percy Folio Ballads*, iii. 76-101. The story of the ballad is so widely known as hardly to need mention. William Cloudesley goes from the green forest to see his wife and children in the town: there he is betrayed by an old woman he has kept for charity 7 years; his house is burnt, and he taken, and condemned to die. Adam Bell and Clim of the Clough get into the town, cut Cloudesley loose at the foot of the gallows, rescue him, and all get away to the merry greenwood. There Cloudesley finds his wife and children; then goes with his son to London, and, by the Queen's intercession, gains the King's pardon for himself and his friends. But afterwards, when the King hears of 300 men, the Mayor, Con-

¹ 'No book with a date being known from Awdeley's press after 1576.' (*Collier's Stat. Reg.* ii. 156.)

² See our edition of it, with Harman's *Caueat*, etc., E. E. Text Soc. Extra Series 1869.

stables, Catchpolls, Bailiffs, Beadles, and Serjeant-at-law, of Carlisle, all slain by the outlaws,—besides 40 of his own foresters,—he regrets that he hasn't hanged the outlaws all three. Cloudesley then beats all the king's archers, and, like Tell and other mythic folk, splits an apple on his son's head at sixscore paces with an arrow, is made a gentleman, his wife chief gentlewoman of the Queen's nursery; and all the three outlaws live with the King, and die good yeomen all. Thus were the merry men wont to 'fleet the time carelessly, as they did in the golden world.'

XXIV. *The Churl and the Burd.* Of this popular poem by Lydgate we have no less than seven printed editions before Captain Cox's time, besides more manuscript copies. Caxton's first edition, about 1479, is in the University Library, Cambridge; his second, about 1480, is in the York Chapter Library, and has been reprinted for the Roxburghe Club. Wynkyn de Worde's first edition was printed in Caxton's house, about 1500 A.D.; his second 'in the Fletestrete in the sygue of the Sonne,' and a copy is in the University Libr. Cambr. Of Pynson's edition a copy is in the Grenville collection in the British Museum. Johan Mychell's edition was 'printed at Cantorbury in Saynte Paules parysshe' about 1540, and copies are among Selden's books in the Bodleian, and at Bridgewater House. Lastly, Wylliam Copland's edition was 'Imprinted at London in Lothburi ouer against Sainct Margarytes church' after 1561, and was reprinted by Ashmole in his *Theatrum Chemicum*, 1652, 4to. In 1840 Mr. Halliwell printed the poem from the Harl. MS. 116, leaves 146-152, in his *Minor Poems of Dan John Lydgate* for the Percy Society, p. 179-193. There must be several other MS. copies of it. The moral of the poem, translated 'out of the Frenssh,' and that taken from the Latin, is, that you're not to be too fast to believe all the tales you hear, not to cry for spilt milk, and not to covet what you can't get. A Churl is very fond of his garden, and adorns it with trees, alleys, a fountain, etc. On a laurel in its midst, a beautiful gold-bright Bird sings often 'a verray heavenly melodye.' This Bird the Churl catches, and proposes to put it in a cage to sing to him. But the Bird says it can't sing in thralldom, only in liberty; the Churl'd better let it go, and then it'll come and sing to him every day, and will also tell him 'thre grete wysdoms . . . more of valewe . . . thane al the golde that is shet in [his] cofre.' On this the Churl sets the Bird free; and the Bird tells him 1. Give not

too hasty credence to every tale or tiding; 2. Desire not a thing which it is impossible to recover; 3. 'For tresoure loste, maketh¹ never to [=too] gret sorowe.' Then the Bird tells the Churl that he's been a great fool to free her, for she has, inside her, a wondrous *jagounce* stone which would have made him victorious in battle, given him plenty of treasure, kept him from all hurt, made every one love him, kept his heart light, etc. The Churl believes it all, feels his heart part in twain at the treasure he has thus lost, and bitterly laments that he has misst the chance of living like a king. Then the Bird comes back and mocks him, says it's all nonsense, and his dull wits have forgotten all her 3 wisdoms; she warned him not to believe every tale he heard, not to sorrow for things suddenly lost, not to covet what he couldn't recover. He's broken all three maxims; it's no good teaching a churl terms of gentleness; and so she flies her way.

XXV. *The Seaven Wise Masters.* This set of stories is better known to manuscript men by its verse title of "The Seven Sages," as Weber has printed it from the incomplete earliest English text in the Auchinleck MS. ab. 1320-30 A.D., with a head and tail from the later Cotton MS. Galba E ix.—'The Proces of the Sevyn Sages,'—in his *Metrical Romances*, i. 1-153, and Mr. Thomas Wright has printed it from the MS. Dd. i. 17, in the Cambridge University Library, for the Percy Society, 1845, with a separate long Introduction, to which I must refer the reader. M. Paulin Paris and divers French and German critics have written on the subject since. The earliest English prose version known to us—made from the early printed Latin *Historia Septem Sapientum*²—was printed by Wynkyn de Worde:

Here begynneth thystorye of y^e. vii. Wyse Maysters of rome conteynnyng ryght fayre & ryght ioyous narracions, & to y^e reder ryght delectable. [Col.] Thus endeth the treatyse of the seuen sages or wyse maysters of Rome. En-
 printed in flet strete in y^e sygne of the sone by me Wynkyn de worde. [circa
 1505.] 4to, black letter, 80 leaves. With several page woodcuts. Brit.
 Museum. (*Hazlitt.*) Incomplete. One cut is repeated for each Tale of the
 Empress, and another cut for each Tale of the Masters; but it's a pretty book.

The next is Wyllyam Copland's (? 1548-1560) at the sygne of the Rose Garland. Of two editions entered as licensed in the Stationers' Registers we know no copy: 1558 A.D., lf. 31, "Thomas marshe / Thomas marshe ys lycensed to prynte y^e pronostication

¹ make yc.

² Ellis's *Specimens*, p. 409 (Bohn).

of Lewes Vaughan; Bevys of hampton; The vij wyse masters of Rome. [etc.] . . . xxd." A.D. 1566, MS. leaf 141. "purfoote / R of Thomas purfoote, for his lycense for prynting of a boke intituled the vij masters of Rome &c. / . . . vjd."

Mr. Hazlitt enters two early editions of a poetical version, but the second is not noticed in the Stationers' Register A, and the first is too early for it:—

(a.) "Sage and prudente Saynges of the Seuen wyse Men, in English Verse, by Robert Barrant, with a Comment. Lond. by Rich. Grafton, 1553. Sm. 8vo, black letter.

(b.) Lond. by John Tisdale, 1560. Sm. 8vo, black letter.

As Captain Cox couldn't have had the poetical version from the MS. noticed above, and I don't know where any copy of Grafton's or Tisdale's edition is, we will assume that the Captain had the prose book, and sketch it as well as we can from the imperfect copy of Wynkyn de Worde's edition in the Museum.

When the wife of Poncianus, Emperor of Rome, dies, she beseeches her husband not to let the 2nd wife that he'll take, have any control over her son Dyoclesian¹. She dies, and the Emperor gives his boy over to the care of Seven Wise Masters, 1. Pantyllas, 2. Lentulus, 3. Craton, 4. Malquydrac, 5. Josephus, 6. Cleophas 7 not named. Then, urged by his lords, the Emperor marries again; but his second wife cannot conceive, and therefore wishes and plots the death of his son Dyoclesian. (*Leaf B i. out.* The Empress gets the Emperor to send for his son. The youth, after 16 years' training, finds from the stars that unless he keeps dumb for 7 days, he'll be killed;) and so, when Dyoclesian comes to the palace, he won't speak to his father. The Empress takes him to her room, says she wants to have joy of his person, and shows him her breasts and body. He rejects her advances, and she screams, and declares he's tried to violate her. The Emperor orders his son to be hanged, but his lords persuade him to put the youth in prison, and have him tried. The Empress is angry at this, and by a tale (*Empress I.*) warns the Emperor that he'll meet with the fate of the burges of Rome who (*leaf B 6 out*) had a tree with an 'imp' or sucker, had the old tree cut down to let the sucker grow, and when that was a tree, cut that down too. Thus Dyoclesian will cut down the Emperor. On this the Emperor orders Dyoclesian to be taken to execution; but as he's going

¹ In *Ellis*, the Emperor is Diocletian, and the son Florentin.

there, Pancyllas stops him, and tells the Emperor a tale (*Masters I.*) of how a wife, not looking under an upset cradle for her child, persuaded her husband to kill his best greyhound, which had, in fact, upset the cradle while killing a serpent who was trying to bite the child. The Emperor respites his son for that day; but then the Empress tells him another tale that makes him order his son's death; and the next Master tells him another that makes him countermand it. So they go on till, after the seven days, Dyoctlesian can speak, and expose his step-mother, who is then handed over to the law, to be judged to death. The tales or 'examples,' after the first on each side given above, are:

Empress II. The Boar and the Shepherd. An Emperor promises his only daughter to the man who'll kill a great boar. A shepherd tries to do it, climbs up a tree, and throws down fruit to the boar which it eats till it gets to sleep. Then the shepherd holds on to the tree with one hand, claws the boar's back with the other, and at last drives his knife into its heart.

Masters II. (leaf C6 out.) The Husband out of doors. A burgess of Rome marries a fair proud well-born girl. At nights she leaves him when she thinks he's asleep, and goes to her lover. Now, as the Roman watch take up all persons found in the streets after curfew, put 'em in prison for the night, flog 'em, and set 'em in the pillory next day, the old husband one night locks his door while his wife's out, to let her get punished. She begs hard for admission, says she'll drown herself rather than be shamed, and then drops a big stone into a well. The old husband, taken-in by this, rushes down-stairs to the well, lamenting his drowned wife; but she slips in-doors, locks the old man out, and there the watch catch him, and give him the customary punishment.

Empress III. The Father murdered by his son. A spendthrift knight gets his son to help him rob the Emperor Octavian's treasure, by digging a hole under the tower it's kept in. To catch the thief, the treasurer puts a vessel filled with pitch and gums into the hole. Father and son come again; the father falls into the vessel up to his neck, and tells his son to cut his head off, and then run home. The son does this. To find out the robber, the father's dead body is drawn through the streets. When his daughters see it, they shriek, and the officers rush up; but the son wounds his mouth, and declares his sisters shrieked at that. So they avoid discovery: the father's body is hung up, and the son doesn't bury it or his head.

Masters III. The Magpie. A merchant has a fair false wife, whose misdeeds his magpie tells him, and he upbraids her for them. One time that he is away, his wife lets in her lover, and the Magpie declares he'll tell his master. The wife gets up a ladder to the roof of the house, makes a hole in it, and pours sand, stones, and water, on the Magpie. When the merchant comes home, the Magpie tells him of his wife having her lover last night when snow, hail, and rain, fell on the pie's back. The wife declares it's all a lie; the weather was quite fair. So too say all the neighbours; and accordingly the merchant wrings the Magpie's neck. Then he sees the ladder, and pots of sand, stones, and water; and goes off sorrowing to the Holy Land. [Comp. Chaucer's *Mau-ciple's Tale*.]

Empress IV.¹ The Emperor [Herowdes, Ellis] and Merlin. An Emperor has 7 wise Masters who make him blind whenever he goes out of his palace, and who oppress his people, and charge them a florin apiece for every dream they interpret. At length the Emperor threatens the 7 Masters with death unless they cure him. They can't do it, but, hearing a wise child, Merlin, interpret a dream truly, they take him to the Emperor. The child orders the Emperor's bedclothes etc. to be taken off, and there appears a well, with 7 springs, which are the 7 wise Masters. By Merlin's direction, the 7 Masters' heads are cut off, the springs and well vanish, and the Emperor regrets his sight.

Masters IV. The old wise man who bleeds his naughty wife. A wise old knight is persuaded to marry the fair young daughter of the Provost of Rome; but he lies too still in bed for her, and so she resolves to have in the Priest, as spiritual men keep such things more secret than laymen². However, her mother persuades her to try her husband first, and see whether he'll stand her adultery. So, she tries him thrice, 1. she cuts down his favourite tree in his garden, 2. she kills his favourite greyhound before his eyes, 3. at a feast they give their friends, she pulls the tablecloth and everything on it, off the table on to the ground. Then the old knight tames her; has a barber up, and makes him bleed her in both arms till she thinks she'll die; when she repents, and says 'The deuyll may the preest confounde and shame. I wyl neuer loue other but my husbonde.' (See *Le Menagier*, i. 164-5.)

¹ This is the Empress's 6th tale in Ellis.

² See *Le Menagier de Paris*, vol. i. p. 162: "Mère," dit la fille, "j'aimera y le chapellain de ceste ville, car prestres et religieus craingnent honte, et sont

Empress V. Is the story of Virgilius and his Images (above, p. xlii) or *Cressus, the rich man*, as Ellis calls it: how 4 knights, enemies of Rome, persuade the Emperor to let them undermine Virgilius's tower and break his images; and how the Romans pour molten gold down the Emperor's throat, and are themselves all destroyed by their enemies. Another short incident is, how Virgil's light, and his hot and cold baths for the citizens, are destroyed.

Masters V. Hippocrates and his nephew (Ellis), or *Ypocras and Galienus*. The famous physician Ypocras has a clever nephew, Galienus, whom he teaches, and sends to the King of Ungary to cure his son. Having seen the child's urine and felt its pulse—'tasted his pounces'—Galienus says the child is not the King's son. The Queen says it is, and threatens the doctor; but is at last obliged to confess that the Kyng of Burgondyen is its father. Then Galienus can prescribe for it, gives it 'to ete, beef, or of an oxe to drynke,' cures it, goes home, and tells Ypocras what he has done. The old uncle, filled with envy, gets Galienus to stoop to pick a herb, and kills him. After that, Ypocras falls sick unto death, and dies because his nephew is not there to help him.

Empress VI. The Emperor and his Steward's Wife. A very ugly Emperor resolves to attack Rome, and take away the bodies of Peter and Paul. He also wants a fair woman to lie with him, and offers his steward £1000 to get him one. The steward, to get the money, takes his own Wife to the Emperor, who likes her so much that he won't let her go again; and when the Steward confesses she's his own wife, the Emperor banishes him. Then the Emperor proposes to attack Rome, but 6 of the Wise Masters dissuade him from it for 6 days; and on the 7th, the 7th Master clothes himself in a marvellous vesture of peacocks' and other birds' tails, and stands on the highest tower with 2 bright swords in his mouth. The Emperor and his host take the Master for 'Jhesus, the god of y^e crysten folke,' flee, and are nearly all killed by the Romans.

Masters VI. The Murderous Knight and his Wife. A poor knight has a fair young wife who sings well, and accepts the offers of 3 knights to give her 100 florins each, and lie with her. She then persuades her husband to let them in at the gate one after the other, at different times, take their money, and cut off their

plus secrets. Je ne vouldroie jamais amer un chevalier, car il se vanteroit plus tost, et gaberoit de moy, et me demanderoit mes gages [?] à engager."

heads. Then the trouble is to get rid of the bodies. Her brother is governor of the watch at Rome, and she makes up a story to him, that her husband quarrelled with a friend and killed him. The brother takes the corpse in a sack, and throws it into the sea. But no sooner has he got back to his sister's, than she says, "The knight you cast into the sea has come back again," and so she makes him get rid of the 2nd corpse, and then the 3rd. To make sure of the 3rd, her brother burns it; and when he afterwards sees a strange knight warming himself at the fire, he thinks it is the corpse come to life a 4th time, and therefore throws the knight and his horse into the fire. After a time the wife and her husband fall out, and he smites her. She waxes angry, and says 'O wretche! wyll ye kyllle me as ye haue done the thre knyghtes?'" This is over-heard; and the husband and wife are found out, 'drawen atte an horse tayll, and hanged vppon the galowes.'

*Empress VII. The two Dreams*¹, or *The King that didn't know his own Wife*. A king loves his wife so, that he locks her up in a strong castle, and keeps the key himself. She and a knight in far parts each dream of the other, though neither has seen that other. The knight searches for, and finds, the Queen; she throws him a letter; he does valiant deeds at her husband's court, gets his leave to build a place near his tower, and has a secret passage made into it. There the Queen yields to him, and gives him a ring that the King had given her. This the king sees one day; and the knight has to sham ill, and get home to the Queen and give her back the ring, to prevent being found out. Then the knight first gets the Queen to dress up in foreign clothes as his love, and entertains the king at a feast; and secondly, the knight gets the King to give the Queen away to him as his bride, at his wedding. The wedded couple set sail; and the king discovers the trick, but too late.

Masters VII. The ungrateful Widow. A loving knight dies of distress at having accidentally cut his wife's finger. She at first pretends to be very sorry, and refuses comfort; but afterwards, to make another knight marry her,—a sheriff who has let some one steal a thief's body from the gallows,—helps to take up her husband's corpse, and then mangles it frightfully—knocks its teeth out, wounds its head, and cuts off its ears and stones.—Then she claims fulfilment of the Sheriff's promise to marry her; but he re-

¹ In Ellis, this is made the Wise Masters' 7th story.

proaches her for ill-treating her first husband's corpse, and cuts her head off.

After this, Dyoclesyan exposes his step-mother's adultery, and her attempt to corrupt him; she is left to the law; and Dyoclesyan tells a concluding tale or Example:

*Dyoclesyan's Tale. The Two Friends: Alexander and Lodowyke.*¹ A knight had a son whom he gave up to a master of a far country to teach. When the son came back, a nightingale sang, and the Father askt his boy to tell him what the bird said. 'That I shall become a great lord; my father shall bring water to wash my hands, and my mother shall hold my towel.' For this the father throws the boy into the sea; but he swims to a land, is pickt up by a ship, and sold to a Duke, with whom he grows into favour. Three Ravens follow the King of this Duke wherever he goes; and he offers his daughter and realm to whoever will rid him of the Ravens. The boy tells him that the Ravens have a dispute: they are father, mother, and child. In a time of famine, the mother left the child and flew away, while the father stopt with it and fed it; yet now the mother wants the child; so does the father: which is to have it? If the King gives right judgment, the Ravens will trouble him no more. The King gives judgment for the Father, and is free of his pests. The boy, Alexander, stays with the king (of Egypt) for a time, then goes to the court of the great Emperor Tytus. There he is made Carver; and Lodowyke, the king of France's son, who is very like Alexander, but weaker, is made cupbearer. Lodowyke falls violently in love with Florentyne, Tytus's daughter; and Alexander makes her such rich presents for his friend, that she lets Lodowyke come to her at night whenever he likes. Alexander is then called home by the death of the king of Egypt, and Guydo, son of the King of Spain, is appointed Carver in his place. Guydo soon finds out, and tells the Emperor of, Lodowyke's tricks with his daughter. Lodowyke denies them, and challenges Guydo; but as he is weak, and Guydo strong, Florentyne bids him go to Alexander. He does so, and finds Alexander preparing for his marriage, and unable to put it off; but as Guydo must be fought, Alexander leaves Lodowyke to personate him, and marry his bride, while he

¹ Compare the Prince's Tale in Ellis. The present one comprises that and another old story.

goes back to fight Guydo. This is done accordingly. Alexander, after a hard struggle, cuts off Guydo's head, and explains his victory to the Emperor by the fact that God always favours the innocent. Lodowyke marries Alexander's bride, but lays a naked sword between her and himself at night. Then Alexander returns, and the sword is no longer needed; but his wife is so indignant at her supposed husband's long neglect of her charms, that she gives her love to another old lover, and with him concocts a poison for Alexander, which nearly kills him, and quite turns him into a leper. Then they dethrone him, and he goes, as a leprous beggar, to Lodowyke, who, by the death of his father and Tytus, has become Emperor of Rome and France. For Alexander's sake, Lodowyke lets the leprous beggar eat before him, and drink out of his own cup; and when the beggar makes himself known, Lodowyke treats him with the greatest kindness. It is then revealed to Lodowyke, that by killing his twin sons, and washing Alexander in their blood, he can cure him. Lodowyke at once cuts his boys' throats, and heals Alexander, and then sends him some way off, that he may come again as a visitor to him. Florentyne is overjoyed to see Alexander; and when Lodowyke asks her whether, if Alexander had been like the leprous beggar, she'd give her twins' lives to cure him, she says 'Yes! ten sons if I had them. We owe our lives and all our happines to him!' Lodowyke then tells her that her boys are dead; but notwithstanding they are soon found, singing praises to the Virgin, with a gold thread round their throats where the knife cut. Lodowyke restores Alexander to his kingdom of Egypt, burns to powder his wife and her paramour, and gives him his own sister in marriage. Then Alexander, as King of Egypt, visits his father and mother; his father holds the basin and water for him, and his mother holds the towel; on which he reminds them of the nightingale's song, and their son, who he is.

Dyoclesyan's father offers to give-up the Empire to him; but he refuses it, helps his father till he dies, and then reigns long and happily. On the history and sources of this Romauce of the Seven Sages, see the Introduction to it in Ellis, the preliminary essay in Warton's History of English Poetry, Mr. T. Wright's Preface or Essay for the Percy Society, M. Paulin Paris, etc., on the French *Dolopathos*, besides numerous Germans.

XXVI. *The Wife Lapt in a Morels Skin.* This is an interesting

and amusing old poem on the Charming or Taming of a Shrew, long before Shakspeare's famous play, of which the quarto edition bears date 1594. The only old edition now known is,

Here begynneth a merry Jeste of a shrowde and curste Wyfe, lapped in Morrelles skin, for her good behauiour. Imprinted at London in Fleetestrete, benethe the Conduite, at the signe of Saint John Euangelist, by H. Jackson. (No date, 4to, 23 leaves.)

Modern reprints are Mr. Utterson's in his *Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry*, 1817; Mr. T. Amyot's for the Shakespeare Society, 1844; Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's, in his excellent *Early Popular Poetry*, vol. iv. p. 179-226, A.D. 1866. The Poem tells, in 1114 lines, how a good meek man had a curst wife—that is, one with the devil's own temper—and two daughters, one meek like himself, and the other curst like her mother; how the meek daughter got well married; and how, notwithstanding the father's strong warnings, a young man would marry the curst daughter. The courtship, the getting the mother's consent, as well as the girl's and the father's, the wedding-feast, first night and next morning, are all capitally told. The new couple begin business, and everything goes well till the curst bride falls foul of her husband's servants, and then, on his reproving her, abuses him violently. He, much grieved, rides away to let his wife's temper blow over; but when he comes back, she abuses him worse than before. So he has his blind old horse, Morell, killed and flayed; salts the skin that it mayn't stink, and gets a stock of new birch brooms. Then he asks her whether she will be master: she swears she will, and hits him; on which he catches her up, and locks her in the cellar. There they have a regular wrestling-match; he throws her, tears her smock off her back, and lays into her well with a rod in each hand till she bleeds freely, and swoons. Then he wraps her in old Morell's salted hide, which makes her smart; and he declares he'll keep her in it all her life. On this, she promises to amend, and obey him; and he promises never to hurt her again. Her sores are soon cured; and, to test her, her husband gives a feast to his father- and mother-in-law, and friends, and makes his wife wait on them. This she dutifully does, to her mother's great disgust. The mother abuses her son-in-law for his cruelty, and vows she'll see his heart's blood for it. But he tells the old woman that if she doesn't keep quiet, he'll make her dance too, and put her in old Morell's hide. She thinks he means what he

says, and gets out of the house as soon as dinner is done. All the neighbours hold that the bridegroom has done right; and, says the author unknown,

He that can charme a shrewde wyfe
 Better then thus,
 Let him come to me, and fetch ten pound
 And a golden purse.

XXVII. *The Sak full of Nuez.* This story-book or jest-book was licensed to John Kyngge, with two other books, in 1557-8, "a sacker full of newes" (Stat. Reg. A, leaf 22; *Collier*, i. 3). It was afterwards Awdeley's, and then licensed to John Charlwood on 15 Jan. 1581-2, and to Edward White on 5 Sept. 1586 (*Collier*, ii. 155, 215) but the earliest edition now known is, says Mr. W. C. Hazlitt, that of 1673; from which Mr. Halliwell reprinted it in 1861, and Mr. Hazlitt also reprinted it in his *Old English Jest Books*, second series, p. 163. It is a collection of 22 tales, of which Mr. Hazlitt has in his edition suppressed two, as being too gross for publication. I take a sample at random, from p. 173-4. "There was a priest in the country which had christned a child; and when he had christned it, he and the clark were bidden to the drinking that should be there; and thither they went with other people; and being there, the priest drunk, and made so merry, that he was quite foxed, and thought to go home before he laid him down to sleep. But having gone a little way, he grew so drousie that he could go no further, but laid him down by a ditch side, so that his feet did hang in the water, and, lying on his back, the Moon shined in his face. Thus he lay, till the rest of the company came from drinking; who, as they came home, found the priest lying as aforesaid, and they thought to get him away; but, do what they could, he would not rise, but said: 'do not meddle with me, for I lie very well, and will not stir hences before morning: but, I pray, lay some more cloathes on my feet, and blow out the candle, and let me lie and take my rest.'"

XXVIII. *The Seargeaunt that became a Fryar.* This is a jocosse poem of 288 lnes, said to be by Sir Thomas More, and printed in the postumous 1557 edition of his English *Workes*. An earlier edition of it, "A mery Gest how a Seargeaunt wolde lerne to be a Frere" was "Enprynted at London by me, Julyan Notary, dwellyng in Powlys churche yarde, at the weste dore, at the syngge of saynt Marke," no date, 4to, black letter, 4 leaves; and another

edition was "Imprinted at London by Rycharde Jhones," also without date, in 4to, in one little volume with, but after, *The Mylner of Abyngdon*.¹ From this edition of Jhones's, collated with that in Sir T. More's *Workes*, Mr. W. C. Hazlitt printed the poem in his *Early Popular Poetry*, iii. 119-129. The moral of the tale is, that a man who has been brought up to one trade shouldn't take to another, but stick to his own business. A young spendthrift drinks away all the money his father has left him, and then borrows more, right and left, which he squanders 'in mirth and play.' Then he goes to 'Saint Katherine'—wherever that may be,—and defies his creditors. One of them asks a Serjeant how to proceed; and the Serjeant undertakes to arrest the Debtor. The Serjeant accordingly disguises himself as a Friar, gets admission to the Debtor's room, and there tries to arrest him. But the Debtor knocks the Serjeant down, and they have a regular fight. At last 'the maide and wife' of the place come up, and beat the Friar-Serjeant about the noll and crown 'till he was well nighe slaine.' Then they throw him headlong down stairs; and the author counsels every man, "His own crafte use; all newe refuse."

XXIX. *Skogan.* On this old collection of Jests, which is attributed to Andrew Boorde, I have commented in my Forewords to Boorde's *Introduction and Dyetary* for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series, 1870. I do not believe it to be Boorde's work, though "many of the Jests turn on doctors and medicine . . . and many are concerned with Oxford life, which we assume Boorde to have passed through. Read the Prologue to the *Jests* :

"There is nothing beside the goodness of God, that preserves health so much as honest mirth used at dinner and supper, and mirth towards bed, as it doth plainly appear in the Directions for Health; therefore considering this matter, that mirth is so necessary for man, I publish this Book, named *The Jests of Scogin*, to make men merry: for amongst divers other Books of grave matters I have made, my delight had been to recreate my miud in making something merry; wherefore I do advertise every man, in avoiding pensiveness, or too much study or melancholy, to be

¹ "A ryght pleasaunt and merye Historie of the Mylner of Abyngdon, with his wife, and his fayre daughter, and of two pore scholers of Cambridge. Where-vnto is adioyned another merye jest of a Sargeant that would have learned to be a fryar." 4to, 14 leaves. *The Mylner* is not by Andrew Boorde.

merry with honesty in God, and for God, whom I humbly beseech to send us the mirth of Heaven, Amen.

“and then compare it with the extracts from Boorde’s *Breviary* on Mirth and honest Company, p. 88, etc.¹; lastly, compare the first *Jest* with Boorde’s chapters on Urines in his *Extrauagantes*, and remark the striking coincidence between the *Jest*’s physician saying, ‘Ah . . . a water or urine is but a *strumpet*; a man may be deceived in a water,’ and Boorde’s declaring that urine ‘is a *strumpet* or an harlot, for it wyl lye; and the best doctour of Phisicke of them all maye be deceyued in an vryne, and his cun-nyng and learning not a tote the worse.’ (*Extrauagantes*, Fol. xxi. back.)”

“*Scogin’s Jest*s, an idle thing unjustly fathered upon Dr. Boorde, have been often printed in Duck Lane,” says Anthony a Wood, *Ath. Oxon.*, i 172. The first edition known to us is in the Bodleian, A.D. 1613; the second is in the British Museum: “The first and best parts of Scoggins Iests: full of witty Mirth and pleasant Shifts done by him in France and other Places; being a Preseruatiue against Melancholy. Gathered by An. Boord, Dr of Physicke.” London, F. Williams, 1626. Lowndes names an earlier edition in black letter, undated. The work was licensed to Colwel in 1566² (*Collier’s Stat. Reg.* i. 120). We see that Laneham doesn’t give *Skoggan* to “Doctor Boord,” as he does the *Breviary of Health*. “A. B.” may be Any Body, and some of the stories are old ones put into Scogin’s mouth, like the following from the edition of 1796, which is altered a little from one in *The Seven Sages* (No. XXV, p. lx, above), and *Le Menagier de Paris*, 1393, p. 158-65.

How Scogin caused his wife to be let blood.

After that Scogin’s wife had played this prank, she used so long to go a gossiping, that if her husband had spoken any word contrary to her mind, she would crow against him, that all the street should ring of it. Scogin thought it was time to break his wife of such matters, and said to her, “I wish you would take other ways, or else I will displease you.” “Displease me!” said she, “beware that you do not displease yourself!” “yea,” said Scogin, “I will see that one day, how you will displease me:” she still continued her approbrious words: at last, Scogin called her into a

¹ Of my ed. of the *Introduction and Dyetary*.

² *Ib.* p. 31.

chamber, and took one of his servants with him, and said to her. "Dame, you have a little hot and proud blood about your heart, and in your stomach; and if it be not let out, it will infect you and many more; therefore be content; there is no remedy but that blood must be let out." "I defie thee," said Scogin's wife, and was up in the house top: "yea!" said he: "come," said Scogin to his servant, "and let us bind her to this form." She scratched and clawed them by the faces, and spurned them with her feet so long, that she was weary: so at the last she was bound hand and foot to a form. "Now," said Scogin to his servant, "go fetch a chyrurgeon, or a barber that can let blood." The servant went and brought a surgeon. Scogin said to him, "sir, it is so, that my wife is mad, and doth rave; and I have been with physicians, and they have counselled me to let her blood: she hath infectious blood about the heart, and I would have it out:" "sir," said the chyrurgeon, "it shall be done." Scogin said, "she is so mad, she is bound to a form;" "the better for that," said the surgeon: when Scogin and the surgeon entered into the chamber, she made an exclamation upon Scogin. Then said Scogin, "you may see that my wife is mad; I pray you let her bleed both in the arm and the foot, and under the tongue:" Scogin and his man held out her arm, and they opened a vein named Cardica. When she had bled well, "now stop that vein," said Scogin, "and let her blood under the foot." When she saw that, "sir, said she, forgive me, and I will never displease you hereafter:" "well," said Scogin, "if you do so, then I do think it shall be best for us both." By this tale is proved, that it is a shrewd hurt that maketh the body fare the worse, and an unhappy house where the woman is master.

There are 59 anecdotes of Scogin and his tricks in the edition of 1796; but the one above will perhaps be enough for the reader.

XXX. *Collyn Clout.* This is the well-known vigorous satire of Skelton¹, poet-laureat to Henry VIII, against the pride and ill deeds of Cardinal Wolsey², the clergy, monks, and friars; the

¹ I assume that it is not Barnes's skit against Andrew Boorde for his attack on beards,—“The treatyse answeringe the boke of Berdes, compyled by *Collyn Clowte*, dedycatyd to Barnarde barber, dwellyng in Banbery” (1542 or 1543?), reprinted at the end of my edition of *Boorde's Introduction* etc. 1870, p. 305–316.

² Skelton's special satire against Wolsey is his “*Why come ye nat to Courte?*” Works, ed. Dyce, ii. 26. Compare Roy's bitterer satire against the Cardinal, *Rede me and be not wroth*, 1527; and the *Impeachment of Wolsey* in my ‘Ballads from Manuscripts,’ Pt. 2, Ballad Soc. 1871.

neglect of learning and politics by the nobles, and the anti-church and heretical spirit among the commonalty. It was edited by Mr. Dyce in his *Poetical Works of John Skelton*, 1843, vol. i. p. 311-360, from three old editions, and the only manuscript known, in the Harleian MS. 2252, leaf 147. Here are the opening lines from that manuscript:—

Harl. MS. 2252, fol. 147.

quis resurgat Ad Malynquantes? aut quis stabit mecum aduersus
operantes iniquitatem? nemo, domine!

Whate Can hyt Avayle		þ ^e nayle on the hede,	
To dryve forthe A snayle,		hyt stondythe ³ in no stede:	
or to make A Sayle		The devyll, they sey, ys dede.	36
of an heryng tayle?	4	hyt may so welle be.	
to Ryme or to Rayle,		or else they wolde see	
to wryte or to endyte,		hoperwyse, & flee	
eythyr for to endyte		From worldly vanyte,	40
or else for to desyte,	8	& fowlle Covetosnes,	
or hokis to compyle		& hoper wrechydnes,	
of dyvers maner of style,		And fykyll falsenes,	
vycis to revyle,		& varyabulnes	44
& syn ¹ for to exile,	12	with vnstedfastnes:	
To teche or to preche		And yf they stonde in dowte	
as Reason wolde reherse?		whoo browghte þis Ryme Ahowte,	
say thus or say that,		My name ys Colyn Clowte,	48
hys hede ys so ² fatte,	16	And [I] purpose to shake owte	
& saythe he wott not whate,		all my Connyng Bagge,	
nor wherof he spekythe:		lyke A clarkely hagge;	
he Cryethe, he Crekythe,		for thowe my Ryme he Ragge[d]	52
he priethe, he prekythe,	20	Tateryde & Iaggyde,	
he Chydethe, he Chaters,		Rvdely Rayne-betyn,	
he pratythe, he patyrs,		Rusty & mothe-etyn,	
he Cleteryth, he claters,		And yf thou take well þat wythe,	56
he medelythe, he smaters,	24	hyt hathe in hyt <i>sic</i> pythe;	
he glosythe, he Flaters;		for, as fer as I Can see,	
or yf he speke playne,		hyt ys wronge with eche degre;	
Then he lackythe brayne;		for the Temporalte	60
he ys but A foole;	28	Accusythe the spyrytualte;	
lett hym go to scole,		The spiritualli Agayne	
on A iij ^e fotyde stole		dothe groge & complayne	
þat he may downe sytte,		vppon the Temporal men:	64
for he lackythe wythe;	32	Thys, ⁴ eche with hothyr blien,	
& yff þat he hytte		þ ^e tone ayenste þat hother.	

Laymen say the Prelates are so haughty, they take no heed to feed their sheep, but only to pluck their wool. The Bishops pervert justice, creep within noble walls to fatten their bodies, disdain to preach, and have little wit in their heads; but two or three are good men, though hen-hearted; they daren't reform abuses, are

¹ The final ens and ems have curls over their backs.

² MS. fo.

³ MS. stondydythe.

⁴ thus.

loth to hang the bell round the cat's neck, and have forgotten Becket's example. Other spiritual fathers hunt, hawk, fornicate, sell the grace of the Holy Ghost, eat flesh in Lent; many are 'bestial and untaught,' drunken, can't construe their lessons, haunt ale-houses, adulterize with women, can hardly read. Mitres are bought and sold, simony prevails; Bishops ride mules with golden trappings and stirrups, all richly clad, and grind poor Gil and Jack.

See what lies the people tell of you! Isn't it sad? They say you Clergy and Mouks pillage the people, and pervert the laws; that Abbesses and Prioresses are as bad; and that it's all the fault of the Bishops, who turn monasteries into mills, and abbeys into granges, to get money to spend among wanton lasses and live in luxury. Except you mend, you'll have a fall; sour sauce after sweet meat!

But I must denounce also those laymen who labour to bring the Church to the ground. Some argue against the Sacraments, Predestination, Christ's manhood &c.; and, when good ale's in their foretop, rail against priestly dignities. Some have a smack of Luther's heresy, of Wycliffe's, of Huss's; and say the clergy have much; also that they can't keep their wives from them.

Isn't it too bad that the laymen talk of how Prelacy is sold and bought; how men of low degree are made prelates, and forget all humility? Yes, you Prelates are so puft up with pride that no man may abide you! you lord it over lords, and those of royal blood; and you boast and brag! If our lords did but understand how Learning would help them, they'd pipe you another dance! But alas, they scorn Learning, do but hunt and hawk¹, care nothing for politics; and therefore have to crouch to you. Well do the commonalty call you prelates 'Idols of Babylon,' proud upstarts from the dung-cart, you who *now* reign and rule, and late lay your drowsy heads in lowsy beds! But mind your foot doesn't slip, and you go to the devil! You are blinded by flatterers! Why don't you rouse yourselves, and be lights to the people?

Now, teaching's only to be got from some poor clerk with but 10£ a year, or some Friar. And it's your work; you should do it! What good can drunken old Doctor Dawpate teach, or a Friar

¹ See my Forewords to the *Babees Book*, and to *Queene Elizabethes Acha-demy* &c. Also, especially, *Starkey's Dialogue*, Pt. 2, p. 182-6 (E. E. Text Soc. 1871 (Extra Series)).

that must preach to get money, and who sets people against their own clergy? You Bishops are so tainted with covetousness and ambition that you lead not your flocks. Laymen call you Barrels of Gluttony and Hypocrisy! All is fish that comes to your net! You build fine palaces, painted with loose heathen tales of lusty Venus and naked Diana, and "naked boyes strydyng, with wanton wenches winkyng." Yet [Wolsey!] beware of a Queen's yelling! It's a busy thing for one man to rule a King! (l. 899-992). Some of you have so checkmated great lords lately, that the rest dare do nothing except it please the "one that ruleth the roste alone" (l. 1021). No one can get at the King except through our President. But mind, man, you don't get cast into the mire! Seek sound footing; give up at once all your wrong schemes! And don't murmur at me, Colyn Clout, for my writing: I write not against the good, but only the bad. Therefore let all, clergy or lay, who feel my reproof, amend. Don't be high and mighty, and order me off to the Fleet or the Tower! Don't say, 'See how the villain calls us Clergy shameless and merciless, incorrigible and insatiate, full of partiality, turning right into wrong!' Drop your threats of sawing, hanging, slaying, beating, those who go against your will, you who will not

.. suffre this boke
By hoke ne by croke
Prynted for to be¹,
For that no man shulde se
Nor rede in any scrolles
Of theyr dronken nolles,

Nor of theyr nobby polles,
Nor of theyr sely soules,
Nor of some wytyles pates
Of dyuers great estates,
As well as other men.

(l. 1239-1249, *Works*, vol. i. p. 359.)

May our Saviour Jesus send us grace to set right the things that are amiss, when His pleasure is!

Southey has well said of Skelton: "The power, the strangeness, the volubility of his language, the audacity of his satire, and the perfect originality of his manner, made Skelton one of the most extraordinary writers of any age or country." His *Collyn Cloute* gave rise, in 1533 or 1534, to even a fiercer diatribe against the whole crew of Clergy, Monks, and Friars, *The Image of Ypocresye*, edited from the unique copy in the Lansdowne MS 794 by Mr. Dyce in his *Skelton's Poetical Works* ii. 413, and by me, with an Introduction, in my *Ballads from Manuscripts*, Vol. i. p. 167-274 (Ballad Society 1868).

¹ Some of the allusions in the Poem may have been introduced into it after it was first written.

Of old printed editions of *Collyn Cloute*, Mr. Dyce and Mr. Hazlitt between them note the following:—

q 1. "Here after foloweth a lytell boke called collyn clout, compyled by mayster Skelton, poete Laureate.

Quis consurgat mihi adversum malignantes &c. Cum privilegio regali.

[Colophon] Imprynted at London by Thomas Godfrey. Cum privilegio regali," 8vo. black letter. D in eights, the first and last leaves blank; at Woburn Abbey, the only copy known.

2. Colophon: "Imprynted at London by me Rycharde Kele dwellyng in the powltry at the long shop under saynt Myldredes chyrche," 12mo. no date. 30 leaves. Henry Huth Esq. has a copy.

"An edition by Kele, 4to. n. d. is mentioned in *Typogr. Antiq.* iv. 305, ed. Dibdin: but qy.?" says Mr. Dyce.

3. Colophon: "Imprynted at London in Paules Churche yarde at the Sygne of the Rose by John Wyghte," 12mo, no date, b. l., D 6 in eight, or 30 leaves; in the British Museum.

4. Col. "Imprynted at London by Jhon Wallye dwelling in Fosterlane," [? about 1550]. 8vo. b. l. 30 leaves. A copy without the title-page was sold among Mr. Jolley's books in 1844.

5. a. Col. "Imprynted at London in Paules Churche Yard at the Sygne of the Sunne by Anthony Kytson." 32 leaves; in the British Museum.

b. Colophon in some copies:—"Imprynted at London in Paules Churche yarde at the Sygne of the Lambe by Abraham Veale." 12mo. n. d. 32 leaves, the first and last blank; in the British Museum.

6. In "Pithy, pleasaunt, and profitable workes of maister Skelton, Poete Laureate. Nowe collected and newly published. Anno 1568. Imprynted at London in Fletestreate, neare vnto saint Dunstones churche by Thomas Marshe" 12mo., the 15th piece is "Colyn Clout."

XXXI. *The Fryar and the Boy.* This merry and most popular poem has been printed at least 3 times in modern days from Manuscripts: 1 by Mr. Thomas Wright in his series of *Early English Poems*, 1836, from a MS at Cambridge; 2. by Mr. J. O. Halliwell for the Warton Club 1855, in "*Early English Miscellauies in Prose and Verse from the Porkington MS.*", p. 46-62, in 426 lines; 3. by Mr. Hales and myself in '*Bp. Percy's Folio MS: Loose and Humourous Songs*,' p. 9-28; which is the completest copy, though imperfect, in 507 lines.

Of old printed editions we have 1. Wyukyn de Worde's, not

dated, in 4to, black letter, 7 leaves: "Here begynneth a mery Geste of the Frere and the Boye." This was reprinted by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt in his *Early Popular Poetry*, ii. 54-81, with collations from the next edition, and contains 480 lines, in 6-line stanzas up to l. 456, and in 4-line stanzas to the end. 2. Edward Alde's in 4to, about 1585, says Mr. Hazlitt: if so, after Captain Cox's time; but the two following editions, of which no copies have yet been catalogued, are licensed in the Stationers' Register A, leaf 22; *Collier*, p. 1:—

[1557-8] To mr. John Wally these bokes, called Welthe and helthe / the treatise of the frere and the boye / stans puer ad mensom¹; a nother, youghte, charyte, and humylyte²; an a b c for cheldren, in englesshe, with syllabes; also a boke called an hundredth mery tayles³ . . . ijs.

[1568-9] Received of Jonn Alde for his lycense for pryntinge of a boks intituled the Freer and the boye . . . iiijd.

Later, a second Part was added to the story, and it became a common chap-book. The reader should consult Mr. T. Wright's preface to his edition of 1836, and Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's to his of 1866.

The story of the poem is one of a boy, little Jack, whom his stepmother spites. She gets his father to make him tend the cattle, and gives him such bad food that he can't eat it. The boy gives the food to an old hungry man, and he in return grants the boy three wishes: 1. a Bow that'll always hit the mark; 2. a Pipe that'll make every one who hears it, dance; 3. that his Stepmother, whenever she looks spitefully at him, shall 'a rap let go.' At nightfall the cattle follow Little Jack's pipe; and he goes home, asks his father for some supper, and gets a capon's wing, at which his stepmother scowls. She 'lets go a blast' that makes the people laugh, and another when she scowls again; so that she has to look good-tempered; but she asks a Friar whom she loves, to revenge her. Next day the Friar goes to beat the boy; but Little Jack shoots a bird for him, and when he goes into the briars to fetch it, Jack pipes up, and makes the Friar dance till he's scratcht so that he bleeds fast. Then he vows he'll not touch Jack if he'll stop the pipe; and the boy lets him go tattered and bleeding home. At night the Stepmother complains to Jack's father, and he insists on hearing the Pipe. The Friar is bound to a post to stop his being obliged to dance; but when Jack

¹ See No. XXXVIII below.

² See No. XLVIII below.

³ See No. XLIII below.

begins, the Friar knocks his pate against the post, and Father, Stepmother, and every one near, dance through the streets, some rushing naked out of their beds to join in. When Jack's tired, he stops; and here the original story ended, I believe, as the Porkington MS. does, with a moral; but the Percy and De Worde copies give us a second scene, of the Friar summoning Jack before the Official or Archdeacon, for witchcraft. The Stepmother joins in; but 'her tail blows,' and she has to stand mute. Then the Official orders Jack to play up; which he does, and a mad scene follows,—judge, proctors, summoners, prisoners, etc., all dancing and smashing against one another.—At last, the Official promises to forgive Jack if he'll stop his Pipe, and he does so.

XXXII. *Elynor Rumming*. This is a most life-like picture by Skelton of a Surrey ale-wife of the time of Henry VIII, and of a drinking-bout by country women at her inn. The coarse loose life of the time is painted with the faithfulness of a Dutch painter, and with a most powerful and humourous hand. The scene is laid by Skelton on a hill in Surrey, in a certain stead beside Leatherhead; but tradition has it, that 'Elynour on the hyll' dwelt at the foot of glorious chalk Boxhill, on the road from Leatherhead to Dorking—that hill which we Sunday walkers from the Working Men's College used to know so well, in storm of snow, fresh green of spring, parch of summer, and golden stretch of autumn at its foot, with the after tongues of flame-red leaves shooting up its dark-green Burford sides.—The place is alive with beauties of nature, and memories of distinguished men and happy days. But it's a coarse picture that Skelton sets before us, repulsive to any one who doesn't care to know how people really lived in 'the good old times' when Mr. Froude tells us working men were, in the main, so much better off than they are now.

Elynour herself is scurvy and lowsy, slaver running from her lips, and dropping from her nose; blear-eyed, jawed like a jetty, footed like a plane, and legged like a crane. Her customers are no better: Kate, Cysly, and Sare, with their legs bare, their feet full unsweet, their kirtles all jagged, their smocks all ragged;

Some wenches come vnlassd,
Some huswyues come vnbrased,
Wyth theyr naked pappes,
That flyppes and flappes,

That wygges and that waggis
Lyke tawny saffron bagges;
A sorte of foule drabbes
All scurvy with scabbes.

The hogs come and dirt in the house, the hens in the mash tub, which Elynour skims with her mangy fists—or doesn't.—Some women pay coin for their ale; some a coney, or honey, a salt-cellar, spoon, hose, a pot, meal, a wedding ring, a husband's hood or cap, flax or tow, distaff or spinning wheel, thread, yarn, piece of bacon, &c.: all *must* have ale. Then they gossip and drink, let it out as they sit, etc. Then another and another lot of women come, who pledge all kinds of things for ale; then drink, and tumble about. Among them, a pretended witch, and stubby-legged Margery Mylkeducke, are described, and a prickmedainty quiet dame (? a nun) who pledges her beads for her ale . . .

. . . my fyngers ytche ;
I haue written to mytche
Of this mad mummynge
Of Elynour Rummynge.

Thus endeth the gest
Of this worthy fest,
Quod Skelton, Laureat.

No separate old printed edition of this poem is known. It occurs in a collection of some of Skelton's works:

1. "Here after foloweth certaine bokes compyled by mayster Skelton, Poet Laureat, whose names here after shall appere.

Speake Parot.

The death of the noble Prynce Kynge Edwarde the fourth.

A treatyse of the Scottes.

Ware the Hawke.

The Tunnyng of Elynoure Rummyng."

[And 5 Minor Poems.]

Colophon. "Thus endeth these lytle workes compyled by maister Skelton, Poet Laureat. Imprynted at London, in Crede Lane, by John Kynge and Thomas Marche." 12mo, no date.

2. "Imprynted at London by Jhon Day." 12mo, no date.

3. "Printed at London by Richard Lant, for Henry Tab, dwelling in Pauls church-yard, at the sygne of Judith." 12mo, no date.

4. Mr. Dyce says 'An edition printed for W. Bonham, 1547, 12mo, is mentioned by Warton, *Hist. of E. Poetry*, ii. 336 (note) ed. 4to.

XXXIII. *The Nutbrooun Maid.* 'One of the most exquisite pieces of late Mediæval poetry,' rightly says Mr. Hales in the *Percy Folio MS. Ballads and Romances*, iii. 174, where a poor shortened copy of the poem is printed in the text, and a full copy, from Richard Hill's MS. at Balliol, in the notes.

In answer to the reproach that women's love is utterly decayd, the Nutbrown Maid records "that they love true, and doe con-

tinue." Her Lover—a squire of low degree—comes to her, a Baron's daughter, and tells her that he is a banisht man; he must either die, or take to an outlaw's life in the greenwood, alone. She says 'I love but you alone.' He tells her that she'll soon get over it, and forget him; but she declares she is ready to go with him, she loves but him alone. Then he tries to dissuade her: if she goes, people will say it's to fulfill her wanton will; she'll have to bear a bow, and live as a thief; if he's hung, there'll be no one to help her; if not, she must endure thorns, snow, rain, and heat, lodge on the bare ground, get no dinner, ale, or wine, have no sheets but leaves and boughs; must cut her hair to her ears, and her kirtle to her knees, and fight for him, if need be. But always she says 'I love but you alone.' Then her Lover tries another tack: women are soon hot, soon cold; soon she'll change too. Then what a cursed deed it were for a baron's child to be fellow with an outlaw. But still she says she'll risk all for him: 'I love but you alone.' Comes the hardest trial: the Lover says he has another fairer maid than she, whom he loves better. But still comes the sweet iteration, 'I love but you alone;' for his sake she'll wait on paramours, one or a hundred. The proof is over; the Lover clasps his own dear love; he is no banisht man, but the Earl of Westmoreland's son, and will wed her as soon as he cau.

Here may ye see, that women be
 in love, meke, kynd, & stable.
 Lett never men repreve them then,
 yf they be charytable,
 But rather pray God that we may
 to them be comfortable. . .

The reader should turn to the poem itself again; no doubt he knows it well. It runs with the Squire of Low Degree, p. xxiv. above. The first printed edition of it is in Arnold's Chronicle (at sig. N 6,) 'which is supposed to have appeared at Antwerp, from the press of John Doesborcke, about 1502.' The 2nd edition of Arnold was in 1521; to the 3rd edition no date has been assigned. From the first two editions Mr. Thomas Wright printed the Nuthrown Maid in his set of Early English poems in 1836, and Mr. W. C. Hazlitt reprinted this text in his *Early Popular Poetry* ii. 271-94. Mr. T. Wright says "I am told that in a manuscript of University College, Oxford, there is a list of books on sale at a stall in that city in 1520, among which is the 'Not-brooun Mayd,' price one penny." I wrote to the Librarian of University to ask

if this list existed, and his substitute said he believed not. On leaf 31 of the Stationers' Register A (*Collier* i. 16) we find an entry

JOHN KYNGE ys fyned for that he ded prynt the nutbrowne mayde without lycense ijs. vjd.

We have now finisht Captain Cox's "matters of storie"—thirty-three of the famous books of Elizabeth's early time,—and turn to the "philosophy both morall and naturall: beside poetrie, and astronomie, and oother hid sciences."

XXXIV. *The Shepherdz Kalender.* Translated from *Le compost et Calendrier des Bergers*; and of this handbook of Popular Philosophy, including 'astronomy, ethics, politics, divinity, physiognomy, medicine, astrology, and geography,' many editions before Captain Cox's time have come down to us.

1. The *Kalendayr of The Shyppars*. [Colophon] Heyr endyth the kalendar of shyppars, translatyt of franch in englysh, to the lowyng of almyghty god, & of hys gloryous mother mary, and of the holy cowrt of hywyn: prentyt in parys the .xxiii. day of iuyng, oon thowsand .ccccc & III. Folio, A to M, in eights. With woodcuts. A unique copy at Althorp, imperfect.

2. Printed by Julian Notary, about 1502, in folio, with woodcuts, many of which Dibdin has copied in his edition of Herbert.

3. A copy without printer's name or date, in the Bodleian; but probably from Pynson's press. See *Dibdin's Ames*, ii. 526.

4. Robert Copland's translation, printed by Pynson in 1506¹, folio, with woodcuts. An imperfect copy is at Althorp.

5. Robert Copland's new translation printed by himself, under Wynkyn de Worde's name, Dec. 8, 1508. No. 6 in Dibdin's list.

6. Wynkyn de Worde. 24 January, 1528. (No. 8 in Dibdin's list.)

7. The *Kalender* 'newly augmented and corrected.' Imprinted by Wyllyam Powell A.D. 1556.

8. An edition of 1559, newly augmented and corrected, is noted

¹ So says Mr. Hazlitt, from whom I take this and like lists; but the Brit. Mus. Catalogue, under *Ephemerides*, Compost, 8561 f, has 1505 P. The book has no printer's name, and uses woodcuts used by Robert and William Coplande, K iii back; and another, B iii back, used or copied in the Roxburghe Ballads. Ballad Soc. Reprint, ii. 370. On first seeing it, I said this copy couldn't be Pynson's; and on looking at it a little, fixed on William Coplande as its probable printer. Mr. Russell Martineau afterwards examined it thoroughly for the Museum, and found that the first date in the Calendar was 1560 (sign C v) so that that is the probable date of the book. See note below, p. lxxxiii.

in *Ames* ii. 735 from the Catalogue of Benet (Corpus) Coll. Library, Cambridge, p. 208 etc.

9. An undated edition by John Waley 'newly augmented and corrected,' is among Malone's books in the Bodleian. Folio, 102 leaves, or A to N in eights, except that M has only 6 leaves. Waley printed from 1546 to 1575.

10. An edition by T. East, no date, folio.

The book is a very curious and interesting mixture of all kinds of learning of the time, with many quaint cuts¹, and certainly deserves reproducing. To show its range of subjects, I copy its Table of Contents from the 1604 edition 'printed at London by G. Elde for Thomas Adams, dwelling in Paules Church-yard at the signe of the white Lion. 1604,' which is evidently a page for page reprint, with changed spelling, of the edition of 1540-60 I say,—but 1505?, by Pynson?, says the Brit. Mus. catalogue—of which an imperfect copy beginning on B ii. is in the British Museum (8561 f.).

"This is the table of this present booke, of the Shepheards Kalender, drawne out of French iuto English, with many more goodly editious than be chaptered, newly put thereto.

First the Prologue of the Authour, that saith that euery man may liue lxxiiii. yeares at the least, and they that die before that terme, it is by euill goner[n]ment, and by violence, or outrage of themselfe in their youth. Cap. primo.

The second Prologue of the great maister Shepheard, that proueth true, by good argument, all that the first shepheard saith. cap. ii.

Also a Kalender with the figures of euery Saint that is hallowed in the yeare, in the which is the figures, the houres, and the moments, and the new Moones. cap. iii.

The table of the mouable feasts, with the compound manuell. cap. iiii.

The table to knowe and vnderstand euery day what signe the Moone is in. cap. v.

Also in the figure of the eclipse of the Sunne and the Moone, the daies, houres, and moments. cap. vi.

The trees and branches of vertues and vices. [See Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwyte*, and Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*.] cap. vii.

The paines of hell, and how that they be ordayned for euery deadly sinne, which is shewed by figures. cap. viii.

¹ Mostly copied from the French. The planets, Moon etc. are each shown at the fork of the legs of a naked man or woman walking.

The garden and felde of all vertues, that sheweth a man how he should know whether he be in the state of the grace of God or not. cap. ix.

A noble declaration of the seuen principall petitions of the Pater noster, and also the Aue Maria: of the three salutations, of which the Angel Gabriell made the first, the second was made by saint Elisabeth, and the third maketh our mother holy Church. cap. x.

Also the Credo in English of the xii. articles of our faith. cap. xi.

Also the ten commaundementes in English¹; and the five commaundementes of the Church Catholike. [Not given; but they are "in the booke of Jesus," leaf F viii. not signed.] cap. xii.

Also a figure of a man in a shippe, that sheweth the vnstable-nesse of this transitory worlde. cap. xiii.

Also to teach a man to know the felde of vertues. cap. xiiii.

Also a Shepheardes ballad, that sheweth his frailty. cap. xv.

Also a ballad of a woman shepheard, that profiteth greatly. cap. xvi.

Also a ballad of death, that biddeth a man beware betime. cap. xvii.

Also the ten commaundements of the deuill, and the reward that they shal haue that keepe them². cap. xviii.

- ¹ One God onely thou shalte loue & worshyp perfytely.
 God in vayne thou shalte not swere, nor by y^e he made truely.
 The sondayes thou shalt kepe, in seruinge God deuoutlye.
 Father & mother thou shalt honour, end shalt lyue longely.
 Mansleer thou shalt not be, in dede, ne wyllyngely.
 Lecherous thou shalt not be of thy body, ne consentyngely.
 No mans goods thou shalt not stele, nor witholde falsely.
 False wytnesse thou shalte not bere, in any wyse lyingely.
 The worke of the fleshe desyre not, but in maryage onely.
 The goodes of other, couet not to haue them vniustly.

? *Copland's (called Pynson's) ed.* leaf F 7 back, not signed.

- ² Here after foloweth the .x. commandements of the deuill. (sign. G 6 back, ed Coplande?)

WHo so will do my commaundements,
 And kepe them well and sure,
 Shall haue in hell great torments
 That euermore shall endure.

- [1] Thou shalt not feare God, nor thinke of his goodnes.
 [2] To dampne thy soule, blaspheme God and his saintes,
 Euermore thine owne will be fast doing;
 Deceauo men and women, and euer be swearing;
 [3] Be dronken hardely vpon the holy day,
 And cause other to sinne, if thou may.
 [4] Father nor mother, loke thou loue nor drede,
 Nor helpe them neuer, though they haue nede.
 [5] Hate thy neighbour, and hurt him by enuy;
 Murder, and shed man's blood hardely;
 Forgeue no man, but be all vengeable.

Another ballad that saint John sheweth in the Apocalips, of the black horse that death rideth vpon. cap. xix.

[*Sign.* A 3.] A ballad how princes and states should gouerne them. [? Lydgate's 'estate and order of euery degree'.] cap. xx.

The trees and branches of vertues, and vices, with the seauen vertues against the seauen deadly sinnes. cap. xxi.

Also a figure that sheweth howe the xii. signes raigne in mans body; and which be good, and which be bad. cap. xxii.

A picture of the phisnomy of mans body, and sheweth in what parts the seauen planets hath domination in man. cap. xxiii.

And after the number of the bones in mans body, followeth a picture that sheweth of all the veyns in the body, and how to bee let bloud in them. cap. xxiiii.

To knowe whether a man be likely to be sicke or no, and to heale them that be sicke. cap. xxv.

And also heere sheweth of the replexion of euill humors, and also for to clense them. cap. xxvi.

Also, how men should gouerne them the iiiii. quarters of the yeare. ca. xxvii.

Also, how men should do, when phisicke doth faile them, for health of body and soule: made in a ballad royal. ["The Diatorie" in the *Babees Book*, 1858, Pt. 1, p. 54-8, enlarged.] cap. xxviii.

Also, to shew men what is good for the braine, the eyes, the throate, the breast, the heart and stomacke, properly declared. cap. xxix.

Also the contrary, to shew what is euill for the braine, the eyes, the throat, the breast, the heart, and the stomack, following by and by. cap. xxx.

Also of the foure elements, and the similitude of the earth; and how euery planet is one aboue another, and which be masculine & feminine. cap. xxxi.

[7] Be lecherous in dede, and in touching delectable;
Breake thy wedlocke, and spare not; [leaf G 7, not signed.]
And to deceaue other by falsehode. care not.

[8] The goodes of other thou shalt holde falsly,
And yelde it no more though they speake curtesly.

[9] Company often with women, and tempte them to sinne;

[10] Desire thy neighbours wife, and his goodes to be thine.

Do thus hardely, and care not therefore,
And thou shalt dwell with me in hell euermore;
Thou shalt lye in frost and fyre, with sicknes and hunger;
And in a thousand peeces thou shalt be torne a sunder;
yet thou shalt dye, and neuer be deade;
Thy meate shalbe todes, and thy drinke boyling leade.
Take no thought for the blud that God for thee shed,
And to my kingdome thou shalt be straight led.

Here foloweth the rewarde of them that kepeth these commaundementes aforesayde. [17 lines of verse. But no doubt the reader has had enough of it.]

A crafty figure of the worlde, with the xii. signes going about, and also of the moouings of the heauen with the planets.

cap. xxxii.

Also of the Equinoctiall and the Zodiake which is in the ix. heauen, which contayneth the firmament, & al vnder it, with a picture of a spire.

cap. xxxiii.

Of Solstitium of Summer, Solstitium of Winter; with a figure of the Zodyake.

cap. xxxiiii.

Of the rising and descending of the signes in the horyson.

cap. xxxv.

And also of the diuision of the earth, and the regions; with a picture of the mobile.

cap. xxxvi.

[This 'picture' is the rose-shaped woodcut, with a mansiou and landscape in the centre, used on the title of Andrew Boorde's *Pronostycation* for 1545. There is no cut at all in the French edition of 1529, 'Imprime a Troys par Nicolas le Rouge,' nor in that 'Imprime a Lyon / par Jehan Cauterel / en la //¹ mayson de feu Barnabe Chaussard / pres // nostre dame de Confort. en Lan // Mil cinq cens. l.j. Le // xxviij. iour du // moys // Daoust. // 1551. //']

Of the variation that is in many habitations and regions of the earth.

cap. xxxvii.

Also of the xii. starres fixed, that sheweth what shall happen vnto them that are borne vnder them.

cap. xxxviii.

Also a figure of the xii. houres, as much in earth as in heaven.

cap. xxix.

Also pictures of the vii. planets; to know in what houre they do raigne the day and night; that telleth which be bad, and which be good; & sheweth how the children shalbe disposed which shalbe borne vnder them.

cap. xl.

Also, pictures of the foure complections to shew and know the condition of each complection, and to know by a mans colour what he is of auy of al foure, and how he is disposed of nature.

cap. xli.

[*Sign. A 3 back.*] Also heere followeth the iudgmentes of the mans face and body, as Aristotle wrote to king Alexander the conditions of man, & the properties in *the visages* of man; but, by the grace of God, good conditions, grace, prayers, fastings, and blessings, these fiue withstand vnkindly condition.

cap. xlii.

Also a picture of the Pomyaw [see leaves A 4 and L 7 and 8 not signed], that sheweth a man to know, euery houre of the night, what is a clocke, before midnight and after.

cap. xliiii.

Also then follow pictures of the impressions of the aire, of the flying dragon, and the leaping kiddes, the way to saint James [of

¹ // marks the end of a line. The /'s are in the original.

Galicia, the Milky Way], and the seuen starres of the burning piller, and of the fire speare, and of the flaming bushes or trees that otherwile faileth, and the flying starre, and the blasing starres, and of five-tailed starres, and of the bearded starre, with the epitaph of a thunder stone. cap. xliiii.

Also, how the Moone changeth twelue times in the yeare, so likewise mans conditions change twelue times in the yeare. cap. xlv.

Of the commodities of the xii. monethes in the yeare, with the twelve ages of man. cap. xlvi.

Of an assault against a snaile [for eating the vine-buds,—by a Lady, and several men of arms, all of whom the snail defies, M. 4.] [cap. xlvii.]

Also followeth the meditation of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, that shepherdes and simple people ought to haue in hearing of their diuine seruice. cap. xlviii.

The saying of the dead man [a Poem of good advice]. cap. xlix.

¹Also certaine orisons and prayers; and first, a diuision theologicall on a question, to knowe if prayers, orisons, and suffrages, done to the soules in Purgatory, bee meritorious and auailable for their health and deliuerance. cap. l.

How euery man and woman ought to cease off their sins at the sounding of a dreadfull horne. [The ? Coplande copy (or Pynson so-called) wants the leaves after "Thus endeth the horner," a big negro for Death, with 'to to' coming out of his horn.] cap. li.

To know the fortunes and destinies of a man borne vnder the xii. signes, after Ptolemeus, prince of Astronomie. cap. lii.

Also followeth the xii. moneths, with the pictures of the twelue signes, that sheweth the fortunes of men and women that are borne vnder them, so that they may know in what moneth and day they were borne. cap. liii.

Also, here telleth of the ten christian nations, that is to say, to shew the certaine poyntes that much heathen people doe beleue of our faith; but not in al, and therefore we begiu first with our faith. cap. liiii.

Also followeth a few prouerbes. cap. lv.

The authors ballad. cap. lvi.

Also a good drinke for the pestilence, which is not chaptred [and is not printed after ch. 56. *Finis* follows that.] cap. lvii.

Thus endeth the table of this present booke.

The length of this 'Table' prevents my giving some good extracts from the prose parts of the book which I had markt; but

¹ This chapter is left out in the English copies of the so-called Pynson, and of Elde 1604, in the British Museum: its Popery wouldn't suit a Protestant time. This confirms my doubt as to the earliest B. M. copy being a Pynson. It's by William Coplande or his predecessor, I believe.

I must take a few of the Proverbs, from the end of the imperfect copy of Jhon Wally's edition, 1580 (?) in the Museum.

- ¶ And also an other, forget it nat :
Kepe your owne home as doth a mouse ;
For I tell you, the deuil is a wyly cat ;
He will spye you in another mans house.
- ¶ And in espetiall, God to please,
Desyre thou neuer none other mans thinge :
Remember that many fingers is well at ease,
That neuer ware on, no gay golde ringe.
- ¶ And this I tell you for good and all,
Remember it, you that be wyse :
That man or woman hath a great fall,
The which slyde downe, and do neuer ryse.
- And one also forget not behynde,
That man or woman is likely, good to be,
That banisheth malyce out of their mynde,
And slepeth euery night in charitie.
- I rede you worke by good counsell,
For that man is worthy to haue care
That hath wise fal¹ into a well,
And yet the thirde tyme cannot beware.
- Say that a fryer tolde you this :
[H]e is wyse that doth forsake sinne :
[T]hen may we come to heauen blysse.
[G]od giue vs grace, that place to winne.

FINIS

The following extract shows how Man is a microcosm, and includes in himself all animals :

And they say that God ne formed creature for to inhabite the world, wyser then man ; for there is no conditione maner in a beaste, but that it is founde comprehended in man. Naturally, a man is hardy as the Lyon, true and worthy as the oxe, large and liberall as the Cock, anaricious as the Dog, and aspre as the Hart, debonayre and true as the Turtle, malicyous as the Leopard, prey and tame as the Doue, dolerous and guilefull as the Foxe, simple and debonayre as the lambe, shrewde as the ape, light as the horse, soft and piteable as [the] Beare, dere and precious as the Oliphant, good & holesome as the Unicorne, vyle & slouthfull as the Asse, fayre and proude as the Pecocke, glotonous as the Wolfe, enyous as the Bitch, debel & inobedient as the Nightingale, humble as the Pygeon, fel and folish as the Oystreich, profytable as the Pysmare, dyssolute and vagabund as the Gote, spytefull as the Fesaunt. Soft and meeke as the Chekin. Mouable and varying as the Fish. Lecherous as the Bore. Stronge

¹ false, ed. 1604.

XXXIV. *Shepherdz Kalender.* XXXV. *Ship of Foolz.* lxxxv

and puissant as the Camell. Traytor as the Mule. Aduised as the Mouse. Reasonable as an aungell. And therefore he is called the little world, for he participeth of all, or he is called all creatures; for, as it is sayd, he participeth and hath condicion of all creatures.—*From* Cap. xlii. The iudgementes of mans body. Back of L vij not signed.

XXXV. *The Ship of Foolz.* Of this work there are two old versions, one in prose and another in verse. The prose version was translated by H. Watson, and printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1517; and of this a copy is among Douce's books in the Bodleian.

From Herbert, in *Ames* i. 158, we find that Watson says: "this booke hathe ben made in Almayne language / and out of Almayne it was translated in to Latyn / by mayster Jacques Locher / and out of Latyn in to rethoryke Frensshe. I haue consydered that the one delyteth hym in latyn / the other in Frensshe / some in ryme / and the other in prose / for the whiche cause I haue done this" in prose.—"Consyderynge also that the prose is more familiar vnto eucry man than *the* ryme, I, Henry Watson, haue reduced this present boke in to our maternall tongue of Englysshe out of Frensshe / at y^e request of my worshypfull mayster wynken de worde / through the entysement and exhortacyon of the excellent prynces Margarett / countesse of Rychemonde and Derby / and grandame vnto our moost naturall souerayne lorde kynge Henry y^e VIII. whome Jhesu preserue from all encombraunce.—¶ By the shypp we may vnderstande *the* folyes and erroures that the mondoynes are in / by the se this presente worlde /—Syth that it is so / we must serche this booke, the whiche may wel be called 'the doctrynnall of fooles.'" Imprynted—M. CCCC. & xvii. The nynthe yere of the reygne of our souerayne kynge Henry *the* viii. The xx. daye of June.

The poetical version of *The Ship of Fools* is the chief work of Alexander Barklay, who was probably a Scotchman, was "educated at Oriel College, Oxford, accomplished his academical studies by travelling, and was appointed one of the priests or prebendaries of the college of saint Mary Ottery in Devonshire. Afterwards he became a Benedictine monk of Ely monastery; and at length took the habit of the Franciscans at Canterbury." (*Warton*, ii. 419, ed. 1840). He finished "The SHYP OF FOLYS, translated in the colege of saynt Mary Otery, in the counte of Devounshyre,

oute of Laten, Frenche, and Dotch, into Englishe tonge, by Alexander Barclay, preste and chaplen in the sayd colledge, M. CCCC. VIII." John Cawood printed a second edition of the book in 1570. "About the year 1494," says Warton, i. 420 Sebastian Brandt, a learned civilian of Basil, and an eminent philologist, published a satire in German with this title [*Navis Stultifera Mortalium*]. The design was, to ridicule the reigning vices and follies of every rank and profession, under the allegory of a Ship freighted with Fools of all kinds, but without any variety of incident or artificiality of fable; yet although the poem is destitute of plot, and the voyage, of adventures, a composition of such a nature became extremely popular. It was translated into French; and, in the year 1488, into tolerable Latin verse by James Locher, a German, and a scholar of the inventor Brandt. From the original, and the two translations, Barklay formed a large English poem, in the balade or octave stanza, with considerable additions gleaned from the follies of his countrymen. It was printed in 1509 by Pynson¹, whose name occurs in the poem:

How be it the charge Pynson has on me layde,
With many foees our nauy not to charge.

(leaf 38 back, Cawood's ed. 1570.)

Barclay's paraphrase is not at all so bright or biting as one would have hoped it would be; nor do his special envoys or addresses to each class of Fools at the end of his enlargements of the Latin text, give one a good sketch of the vices and ways of his time: still, one is thankful to have them; and as each of us is bound to think first, wherein he is a fool himself, suppose we get Mr. G. Parker of the Bodleian to give us Brandt's and Barclay's sketches of us Fools who 'books assemble,'—though we do read some—adding Watson's translation too, to show how he treats his original. For more, the reader can turn to the volume itself: he'll enjoy its quaint cuts, if he doesn't the text.

[P. 1. 16. Jur. Seld. (Bodl. Libr.).]

THE SHYP OF FOLYS.

translated in the Colledge

of saynt mary Otery in the counte of Deuonshyre: out of Laten /
Frenche / and Doche into Englysshe tonge by Alexander Barclay

¹ The Granville copy in the Brit. Mus. is in beautiful condition, though cut down grievously by one of that cursed race of binders.

Preste: and at that tyme Chaplen in the sayde Colloge. translated . . . 1508. Inprentyd in the Cyte of London in Fletestre (*sic*) at the signe of Saynt George By Rycharde Pynson to hys Coste and charge: Ended . . . 1509. The 13 day of December.

[The title-page is covered with one large Coat of Arms and a Crest above it: at the back of this, towards the bottom of the page, is the title copied above.]

[fol. 12.]

Argumentum in narragoniam.

AD humani generis foelicitatem: documentumque saluberrimum: stultorum classis ad Narragoniam constructa fulget: quam quidem omnes conscendunt: qui de se mita / veritatis / et aperto sani intellectus calle vagantes: in varias et vmbrosas mentis tenebras: ac corporis illecebras
 Satyra. corruunt. Potuisset presens hic noster libellus / non inconcinne satyra nuncupari: sed auctorem nouitas tituli delectauit. sicuti enim prisici satyrici: variis poematibus contextis: [etc.].

Here after foloweth the Boke named the Shyp of Foles of the worlde: translated out of Laten / Frenche & Doche into Englysse in the Colege of saynt Mary Otery By me Alexander Barclay to the felicite and moste holsom instruccion of mankynde the whiche conteyneth al suche as wandre from the way of trouth and from the open Path of

[*fol. 12b.]

holsom vnderstondynge & *wysdom: fallynge into dyuers blyndnesses of the mynde / folyssh sensualitytes / and vnlawful delectacions of the body. This present Boke myght haue ben callyd nat inconueniently the Satyr (that is to say) the reprehencion of foullysshnes. but the neweltye of the name was more plesant vnto the fyrst actour to call it the Shyp of foles: For in lyke wyse as olde Poetes Satyriens in dyuers Poesyes conioyned repreued the synnes and ylnes of the peple at that tyme luyng: so and in lyke wyse this our Boke representeth vnto the iyen of the redars the states and condicions of men: so that euery man may behold within the same the cours of his lyfe and his mys-

Satyra inter-pretatur reprobatio.

gouerned maners / as he sholde beholde the shadowe of the fygure of his visage within a bright Myrrour. But concernynge the translacion of this Boke: I exhort the reders to take no displesour for that it is nat translated word by worde acordinge to the verses of my actour. For I haue but only drawn into our moder tunge / in rude langage, the sentences of the verses as nere as the parcyte of my wyt wyl suffer me / some tyme addynge / sontyme detractinge and takinge away suche thinges a[s] somethe me necessary and superflue. wherfore I desyre of you reders, pardon of my presumptuous audacite, trustynge that ye shall holde me excused if ye consyder the scarsnes of my wyt and my vnexpert youthe. I haue in many places ouerpassed dyuers poetical digressions and obscurennes of Fables, and haue concludyd my worke in rude langage¹, as shal apere in my translacion. But the speciyl cawse that mouethe me to this besynes is, to anoyde the execrable inconuenyences of ydilnes,

Speculum stultorum.

¹ What follows on fol. 12 b is not translated or paraphrased.

whyche (ss saint Bernard sayth) is moder of al vices: and to the vtter derision of obstynat men delitynge them in folyes & mys gouernance. But bycause the name of this boke semeth to the redar to procede of derysion: and by that mean that the substance therof shulde nat be profitable: I wyl aduertise you that this Boke is named the Shyp of foles of the worlde: For this worlde is nought els but a tempestuous se, in the whiche we dayly wander and are caste in dyuers tribulacions, paynes, and aduersitees: some by ignoraunce, and some by wilfulnes: wherfore suche doers ar worthy to be called foles, syns they gyde them nat by reasou as creatures reasonable ought to do. Therefore the fyrst actoure, willynge to deuylde suche foles from wysemen and gode lyuers, hath ordeyned vpon the se of this worlde this present Shyp to conteyne these folyes of the worlde / whiche ar in great number. So that who redeth it, perfytely consyderynge his secretc dedys / he shall not lyghtly excuse hym selfe out of it / what so euer good name *that* he hath outwarde in the mouth of the comontye / And to the entent / *that* this my labour may be the more pleasaunt vnto lettred men / I haue adioyned vnto the same *the verses* of my Actour, with dyuerse concordances of the Bybyll to fortyfy my wrytynge by the same / & also to stop the enuyous mouthes (If any suche shal be) of them that by malyce shall barke ayenst this my besynes.

[fol. 13.]

De inutilibus libris.

Inter precipuos pars est mihi reddita stultos

Prima: rego docili vastaque vela manu.

En ego possideo multos: quos raro libellos

Perlego: tum lectos negligo: nec sapio.

Invtilitas librorum.

Quod si quis percurrere omnes scriptores cupiat opprimetur: tum librorum multitudine: tum diuersa scribentium varietate: vt haud facile verum possit elicere. distrahit enim librorum multitudo. et faciendi libros plures non est finis.

Diodorus Siculus. li. i. Ecclesi. xij. Dabitur liber nescientibus litteras.

PRImus in excelsa teneo quod naue rudentes

Stultiuagosque sequor comites per flumina vasta:

Non ratione vacat certa: sensuque latenti:

Congestis etenim stultis confido libellis

Spem quoque nec paruam collecta volumina præbent:

Calleo nec verbum: nec libri sentio mentem.

Attamen in magno per me seruantur honore:

Pulueris et cariem plumatis tergo flabellis.

Ast vbi doctrine certamen voluitur: inquam

Aedibus in nostris librorum culta supellex

Eminet: et chartis viuo contentus opertis:

Quas video ignorans: inuat et me copia sola.

Constituit quondam diues Ptolomeus: haberet

Vt libros toto quesitos vndique mundo

Quos grandes rerum thesauros esse putabat:

Non tamen archane legis documenta tenebat:

Quis sine non poterat vite disponere cursum

En pariter teneo numerosa volumina / tardus

Pauca lego: viridi contentus tegmine libri.

Ptolomeus philadelphus Cuius meminit. Josephus lib. xij.

[fol. 13b.]

Qui parum tudet parum

profeit glo. in
l. vnicuique C.
de. prox. sacr.
veri. (sic).

Cur vellem studio sensus turbare frequenti?
Aut tam sollicitis animum confundere rebus
Qui studet / assiduo motu / fit stultus et amens.
Seu studiam : seu non : dominus tamen esse vocabor
Et possum studio socium disponere nostro :
Qui pro me sapiat : doctasque examinet artes.
At si cum doctis versor : concedere malo
Omnia : ne cogar fors verba latina profari
Theutonicos inter halbos sum maximus auctor :
Cum quibus incassum sparguntur verba latina.
O vos doctores : qui grandia nomina fertis :
Respicite antiquos patres : iurisque peritos.
Non in candidulis pensepant dogmata libris :
Arte sed ingenua sitibundum pectus alebant.
Auriculis asini tegitur sed magna caterua :

Pronerbio. v. ff.
de Corigi. iur.
l. ii. post origi-
nem Persius.
(sic.)

¶ Here begynneth the foles : and first, inprofytable bokes.

I Am the firste fole of all the hole nauy
To kepe the pompe / the helme and eke the sayle
For this is my mynde / this one pleasoure haue I
Of bokes to haue grete plenty and aparayle
I take no wysdome by them : nor yet auayle
Nor them perceyue nat : And then I them despysse
Thus am I a foole and all that sewe that guyse.

Diodorus Sien-
lus li. i.
Ecclesi. xij.

THat in¹ this shyp the chefe place I gouerne
By this wyde see with folys wanderynge
The cause is playne / and easy to dyscerne
Styll am I besy bokes assemblynge
For to haue plenty it is a plesaunt thyng
In my conceyt and to haue them ay in honde
But what they mene do I nat vnderstonde

Dabitur liberne
scientiulis lite-
ras esaie. xxix.

But yet I haue them in great reuerence
And honoure sauynge them from fylth and ordure
By often brusshynge / and moche dylygence
Full goodly bounde in plesaunt couerture
Of domas / satyn / or els of veluet pure
I kepe them sure ferynge lyst they sholde be lost
For in them is the connynghe wherin I me bost

[fol. XIII²,
right.]

But if it fortune that any lernyd men
Within my house fall to disputacion
I drawe the curtyns to shewe my bokes then
That they of my cunnynghe sholde make probacion
I kepe nat to fall in altercacion
And whyle they comon my bokes I turne and wynde
For all is in them / and no thyng in my mynde

¹ Printed 'u.'

² The book is foliated properly, like the Vernon MS, the 2 pages shown on opening the book, being a *folium*, and the two here being headed FOLIUM (on the left page,) XIII (on the right). Later printers stupidly transferred the

Ptolomeus
philadetemus
meminit Jo
Sephus. li. xij.
(sic.)

Tholomeus the riche causyd longe agone
Ouer all the worlde good bokes to be sought
Done was his commaundement anone
These bokes he had and in his stody brought
Whiche passyd all erthly treasure as he thought
But neuertheles he dyd hym nat aply
Unto theyr doctryne / but lyued vnhappely

Qui parum
studet parum
proficit glo.
L. vnicuique C
dex sacr. scri.
(sic.)

Lo in lyke wyse of bokys I haue store
But fewe I rede / and fewer vnderstande
I folowe nat theyr doctryne nor theyr lore
It is ynoughe to bere a boke in hande
It were to moche to be it (sic) suche a bande
For to be bounde to loke within the boke
I am content on the fayre couerynge to loke

Why sholde I stody to hurt my wyt therby
Or trouble my mynde with stody excessyue
Sythe many ar whiche stody right besely
And yet therby shall they neuer thryue
The fruyt of wysdom can they nat contryue
And many to stody so moche are inclynde
That vtterly they fall out of theyr mynde

Eche is nat lettred that nowe is made a lorde
Nor eche a clerke that hath a benefyce
They are nat all lawyers that plees doth recorde
All that are promotyd are nat fully wyse
On suche chaunce nowe fortune throwys hir dyce
That thoughe one knowe but the yresshe game
yet wolde he haue a gentyll mannys name

So in lyke wyse I am in suche case
Thoughe I nought can I wolde be callyd wyse
Also I may set another in my place
Whiche may for me my bokys excercyse
Or els I shall ensue the comon gyse
And say concedo to euery argument
Lyst by moche speche my latyn sholde be spent

[fol. XV^v, left.] I am lyke other Clerkes whiche so frowardly them gyde.
That after they ar onys come vnto promocion
They gyue them to plesour theyr stody set asyde.
Theyr Auaryce couerynge with fayned deuocion.
yet dayly they preche : and haue great derysyon
Agaynst the rude Laymen : and al for Couetyse.
Though theyr owne Consceience be blynded with that vyce.

name *folium* to a leaf, two pages back to back, and sheepish librarians etc. have followed suit, re-leafing already-foliated MSS, under the idea that they were foliating them for the first time. The difference between a leaf and a *folium* has yet to be drilled into the bibliographic mind. ¹ Printed XX.

But if I durst trouth playnely vtter and expresse.
 This is the special cause of this Inconuenyence.
 That greatest foles / and fullest of lewdnes
 Hauynge least wyt : and symplest Science
 Ar fyrst promoted : and haue greatest reuerence.
 For if one can flater / and bere a hawke on his Fyst
 He shalbe made Person of Honyngton or of Clyst¹.

But he that is in Study ay ferme and diligent.
 And without al fauour prechyth Chrystys lore
 Of al the Comontye nowe adayes is sore shent.
 And by Estates thretened to Pryson oft therefore.
 Thus what auayle is it / to vs to Study more :
 To knowe outhr scripture / trouth / wysedom / or vertue
 Syns fewe / or none without fauour dare them shewe.

Prouer. quiuto. But O noble Doctours / that worthy ar of name :
 Consyder our olde faders : note wel theyr diligence :
 Ensue ye theyr steppes : obtayne ye suche fame.
ff. de origine. As they dyd lyuynge : and that by true Prudence.
iur. l. ii. post Within theyr hartys they planted theyr syence
originem. And nat in plesaut bokes. But nowe to fewe suche be.
 Therefore in this Shyp let them come rowe with me.

¶ The Enuoy of Alexander Barclay Translatour exortynge the Foles
 accloyed with this vice to amende theyr foly.

Translatio a SAY worthy doctours and Clerkes curious :
somniaantibus. What moueth you of Bokes to haue such number.
 Syns dyuers doctrines throughe way contrarions.
 Doth mannys mynde distract and sore encomber.
 Alas blynde men awake / out of your slomber
 And if ye wyl nedys your bokes multiplye
 With diligence endeuer you some to occupye.

Now for Watson's translation.

[Douce B. subt. 254.]

The grete shyppe of fooles of this worlde.

[Title wanting ; the Colophon follows.]

¶ Thus endeth the shyppe of fooles of this worlde. Imprynted at
 Londod (*sic*) in flete strete by Wynkyn de Worde. *the yere of our*
lorde. M. CCCC. and. xvii. ¶ The nynthe yere of *the reygne of our*
souerayne lorde kyng Henry the viii. The. xx. daye of June.

¶ Argument of the shyppe of Fooles of this worlde.

THIS booke compyled / for the felicyte *and* salute of all the humayne
 gendre / and dyrecte the shyppe of fooles of this transytory worlde / in
 the whiche ascendeth all they that vageeth frome the playne exhortacyon
 of the intellectuyl vnderstandynge in transmutable and of obscure

¹ Compare Latimer etc. on this point of unfit persons made parsons.

thoughtes of the frayle body / wher by theyr decyuable wyttes / and hie enterpryses / within shorte space innade our harge. Wherefore this present boke may be called satyre / notwithstandinge that the fyrste auctoure dyde delyte hym in the newe intytulacyon of this present boke / for ryght so as by the poesyes and fyccyons / *the* auncyent poetes dyde correcte *the* vyces and the fragylytes of mortall men.

¶ Semblably this present pagyne specyfyeth before theyr syght *the* estate and condycyon of men / *to the* ende *that* a myrroure they beholde the meurs and rectytude of lyfe Neuertheles thynke not you lectoures *that* I haue worde by worde dyreecte and reduced this present booke out of Frensshe in to our maternall tongue of Englysshe / for I haue onely (as recyteth Flaccus) take entyerely the substance of the scrip- ture / in esperance that my audace presumptuous sholde be pardoned of the lectoures / hauynge aspecte vnto *the* capacyce of my tendre yeres / and the imbelycyte of my lytell vnderstandynge / in leuynge *the* egressyons poetyques and fabulous obscurytees / in a cheuynge in werke in facyle sentence and famylyer style / in supplenge all *the* reders to haue me for* excused yf that I haue fayled in ony thyng.

[*Sign. A. i. b.]

¶ Here after ensueth the fyrste chapytre.

¶ Of bookes inutyle. capitulo. primo.

¶ The fyrste foole of the shypps¹ I am certayne
That with my handes dresse the sayles all
For to haue bookes I do all my besy payne
Whiche I loue not to rede in speyall
Nor them to se also in generall
Wherefore it is a prouerbe all aboute
Suche thynketh to knowe *that* standeth in doubt.

[A woodcut here.]

[Sign. A. ii.] YOnge folkes that entende for to knowe dyuers thynges approche you vnto this doctryne and it reuolue in your myndes organyques to the ende that ye maye comprehend and vnderstande the substance of it / and that ye be not of the nombre of *the* foolles that vageth in this tempesteous flode of the worlde. And you also the whiche haue passed the flourynge aege of your youthe / to *the* end that and you be of the nombre of the foolles moundaynes that ye maye lerne somewhat for to detraye you out of the shyp stultyfere. Wherefore vnderstande what the fyrste foole sayth beyng in the grete shyppe of of² foolles. ¶ I am the fyrste in the shyppe vagaunte with the other foolles. I tourne and hyse the cordes of the shyppe saylynge ferre within the see. I am founded full euyll in wytte and in reason. I am a grete foole for to affye me in a grete multytude of bokes. I desyre alway and appetyteth newe inuocnyons compyled mystycally / and newe bookes / in the whiche I can not comprehend the substance³ / nor vnderstande no thyng. But I doo my besy cure for to kepe them honestly frome poudre and dust. I make my lectrons and my deskes

¹ Printed 'shyppf.'

² Sic.

³ Printed 'substance.'

clene rygh[t] often. My mansyon is all repyllysshed with bokes / I solace me ryght often for to se them open without any thyngge compyllynge out of them. ¶ Ptolomeus was a ryche man the whiche constytued (*sic*) and also commaunded that they sholde serche how thorough euery regyon of the worlde the moost excellentest bookes that myght be founden.

Pholomeus.
phyladelphus
cuius memini.
Josephus. li. xij.
(*sic*.)

And whan they had brought theym all / he kepte theym for a greate treasure. And that not withstandyng he ensued not *the* ensyngmentes nor *the* doctryne of the dyuyn sapyence / how be it that he coude dyspose nothyng* of the lyfe without is / [*Sign. A. ii. b.] what bookes someuer he had / nor compose any thyngge to the relefe of his body at that tyme. I haue redde in dyuers bookes / in the whiche I haue studyed but a lytell whyle / but oftentymes I haue passed the tyme in beholdyng the dyuersytes of the conerynges of my bookes. It sholde be grete foly to me to applye by excessyue study myne vnderstandyng vnto so many dyuers thynges / where through I myghte lese my sensuall intellygence / for he that procureth too knowe ouermoche / and occupyeth hymself by excessyue studye / is in daunger for to be extraught from hymself also euerychone is dyspensed / be he a clerke or vnderstande he nothyng yet he bereth *the* name of a lorde. I maye as well commytte one in my place the whiche thynketh for to lerne seyence (*sic*) for hym and for me. And yf that I fynde my selfe in any place in the company of wyse men to the ende that I speke no latyn / I shall condyscende vnto all theyr preposycions for fere that I sholde not be reproched of that that I haue so euylly lerned. ¶ O doctours the whiche bereth the name and can nothyng of scyence / for to eschewe grete dyshonoure come neuer in the company of lerned men / our auuncyt faders here before dyde not lerne theyr replendysshynge scyence in the multy tude of bookes / but of an ardaunte desyre *and* of a good courage. They had not theyr spyrytes so vnstedfaste as *the* clerkes haue at this present tyme / it were more propyre for suche folke for to bere asses eeres than for to bere the names of doctoures and can nothyng of cunnyng.

Proverb. v.

[Fr. Douce's MSS. notes on fly-leaf at beginning of book.]

"Some of the signatures are misplaced, but the book is otherwise perfect, unless it want a title, which is not clear, as there are 6 leaves prefixed to signature A.

"I know of no other copy of this edition, but have seen one printed on vellum with the date 1509, 4to, in the national library at Paris.

"Messrs. Brunet and Dibdin, the former in his 'Manuel du Libraire,' and the latter in his *Bibl. Spenceriana*, iii. 204, have erroneously ascribed the above edition of 1509 to the press of Pynson, and confounded it with the metrical translation by Barclay, which was printed in that year by Pynson *in folio*.

"The above French copy on vellum has a leaf at the beginning with (THE SHYPPE OF FOYLES ON A SCROLL, [etc. . . .]

“This is the Colophon: ¶ Thus endeth the shyppes of fooles of this worlde. Enprynted at London in Flete strete by Wynkyn de Worde [. . .] MCCCC. ix [*sic*—G. P.]. ¶ The fyrste yere of the reygne of [. . .] Henry the VIII. The vi. daye of Julii.”

[In pencil by F. D.] “Some cuts used in ‘Cock Lorels bote!’ The Duke of Roxburgh’s copy for £63.”

Long as the extracts are from the two versions of Brandt’s book, I venture to take another from Barclay’s englishing, which justifies his captaining this Ship of Fools:—

Barclay the Translatour to² the Foles.

TO Shyp! galantes! the se is at the ful;
The wynde vs calleth, our sayles ar displayed;
Where may we best argue? at Lyn or els at Hulle?
To vs may no hauen in Englonde be denyd.
Why tary we? the Ankers vp wayed.
If any corde or Cabyl vs hurt / let, outhynder,
Let slyp the ende / or els hewe it in sonder.

Retourne your syght; beholde vnto the shore!
There is great nomber that fayne woldbe aborde,
They get no rowme, our Shyp can holde no more.
Haws in the Cocke! gyue them none other worde.
God gyde vs from Rockes / quicsonde, tempest, & forde!
If any man of warre / wether / or wynde, apere,
My selfe shal trye the wynde, and kepe the Stere.

But I pray you reders, haue ye no dysdayne
Thoughe Barclay haue presumed of audacite
This Shyp to rule, as chefe mayster and Captayne.
Though some thynke them selfe moche worthyer than he,
It were great maruayle forsoth, syth he hath be
A scoler longe, and that in dyuers scoles,
But he myght be Captayne of a Shyp of Foles.

But if that any one be in suche maner case
That he wyl chalange the maystershyp fro me,
yet in my Shyp can I nat want a place,
For in euery place my selfe I oft may se.
But this I leue, besechyng eche degre
To pardon my youthe and to[o] bolde interprise;
For harde it is, duely to speke of euery vyce.

Non mihi si
lingue centum
sint oraque
centum; ferrea
vox: omnis
scelerum com-
prehendere

For yf I had tungen an hundreth, and wyt to fele
Al thinges natural and supernaturall
A thousand mouthes, and voyce as harde as stele,
And [had] sene all the seuen Sciences lyberal,
yet cowde I neuer touche the vyces all,

¹ A fragment of C. L. is in the Douce collection.

² tho, *orig.*

formas: *Omnia*
stultorum per-
currere nomina
possem.

And syn of the worlde, ne theyr braunches comprehende,
 Nat though I lyued vnto the worldes ende.

But if these vyces whiche mankynde doth incomber
 Were elene expellyd, and vertue in theyr place,
 I cowde nat haue gathered of fowles so great a number,
 Whose foly from them out-chaseth goddys grace.
 But euery man that knowcs hym in that case,
 To this rude Boke let hym gladly intende,
 And lerne the way his lewdnes to amende.

XXXVI. *Danielz Dreamz.* I cannot find this in the British Museum or at Lambeth, in Hazlitt's *Handbook*, or Collier's *Bibliographical Catalogue*, and therefore copy Lowndes's entry of it, p. 586, col. 1, ed. Bohn:—"The Dreames of Daniell, with the Exposycions of the xij Sygnes, devyded by the xij Monthes of the Yeaere; and also the Destenys both of Man and Woman borne in eche Monthe of the Yere. Very necessarye to be knowen. Imprinted by me Robert Wyer. 16mo. Contains [A B C D E] F in fours. Mr. W. Brenchley Rye of the Museum says that 'Heber's copy sold 35 years ago for the moderate sum of *two shillings.*'

XXXVII. *The Booke of Fortune.* This is supposed to be a little verse tract in the Lambeth Library by Sir Thomas More; but on seeing it, I felt sure that this tract was,—as the printers of More's *Workes* said it was,—meant only as a Preface to the Booke of Fortune; for More must refer to that Book in the last lines of his own poem; he cannot have meant that the few French lines in his (or Wyer's) tract, and the English ones he puts into Fortune's mouth, were the real Booke of Fortune. The title of Wyer's tract is

"¶ The Boke of the fayre Genty[1]-/woman, that no man shulde / put his truste, or confy-/dence in: that is to say, / Lady Fortune: / flaterynge euery mau / that coveyteth to / haue all, and specyally, / them that truste in / her, she decey-/ueth them / at laste." (over a woodcut of "The Lady Fortune.") Colophon. "Imprynte by me Robert Wyer dwellyn-/ge, in Saynt Martyns parysse, in / the Duke of Suffolkes rentes / besyde Charynge / Crosse. / Ad imprimendum / Solum"/.

4to, 8 leaves, A (not signed) and B in fours, no date.

On the back of the title is, in 3 stanzas,

¶ The Prologue

As often as I coꝝsydre these olde noble clerkes,
 Poetis, Oratours, & Phylosophers, —sectes thre—

Howe wonderfull they were in all theyr werkes,
 Howe eloquent, howe inuentyue to euery degre,
 Halfe amased I am, and as a deed tre
 Stond styll, ouer rude for to brynge forth
 Any fruyte or sentence that is ought worth.

Neuertheles, though rude I be, in all contryuyng
 Of matters, yet somewhat to make I need not to care;
 I se many occupyed in the same thyng.
 Lo! vnlearned men nowe a dayes wyll not spare
 To wryte, to habbe, theyr myndes to declare,
 Trowynge them selfe, gay fantasies to drawe,
 When all theyr cunnyng is not worth a strawe.

¶ Some in french Cronycles gladly doth presume,
 Some in Englysshe hlyndly wade and wander,
 Another in latin bloweth forth a dark fume,
 As wyse as a great hedded Asse of Alexandre;
 Some in Phyllosophye, lyke a gagelynge gandre
 Begynneth lustely the browes to set vp,
 And at the last concludeth in the good ale cup.

¶ Finis Prologus.
 quod. T. M.

On leaf A ii (not signed) is the reduced woodcut of St. John writing his Revelation (with a printer's ornament on the left), used on the title-page of Robert Wyer's 1542 edition of Andrew Boorde's *Dyetary* (see my edition for the E. E. Text Soc. 1870), and then two verses of French, with a printer's border on each side

Fortune perverse,
 Qui le monde verse
 Toul't a ton desyre,
 Jamais tu nas cesse
 Plaine de finesse,
 Et y prens pleaseire

¶ Par toy venent maulx,
 Et guerres mortaulx,
 Toul's inconueniens;
 Par mons et par vaulx,
 Et aulx hospitalx,
 Meurent tant de gens.

On the back are two English stanzas denouncing Fortune,¹ with "¶ Finis. quod. T. M." and a fresh woodcut of Lady Fortune.

On A iii (not signed) follow "¶ The wordes of Fortune to the People. quod Tho. Mo.", in six 7-line stanzas, beginning "Myne hyghe estate, power, and auctoryte," aud ending "And he that wyll be a begger, let hym be." At the foot of the back in A iii is the title of the next poem "¶ To them that trusteth in Fortune" in thirty-three 7-line stanzas, beginning "Thou that art proude of honour, shape, or kyn," and ending "as are the iudgementes of Astronomye. ¶ Here Fineth Lady Fortune." The back of the

¹ Printed, like the foregoing Prologue, in Maitland's *Early Printed Books*, p. 441.

last leaf (B iv not signed) is taken up with two French stanzas of 8-lines each, asking Fortune where are divers heroes, "Fortune, ou est David et Salomon" etc. and with the burden "Ilz sont tous mors: ce monde est chose vaine," and followed by the Colophon.

Now if we turn to Sir Thomas More's *Workes*, 'printed at London at the costes and charges of John Cawood, Johu VValy, & Richarde Tottell, Anno 1557, [5,' we find the main part of Wyer's tract printed as "Certain meters in English written by master Thomas More in hys youth for the boke of Fortune, and caused them to be printed in the begynning of that boke." The first poem is 'The wordes of Fortune to the people' a boast by her of her power, and a call on men to wait on her, ending

And he that out of pouertie and mischaunce
List for to liue, and will himself enhance
In wealth & riches, come forth and waite on me!
And he that will be a begger, let hym be. (See 21 lines above.)

The second poem is 'Thomas More to them that trust in fortune', warning them of her fickleness, and what dangers lie in trusting her,

Fast by her side doth wearie Labour stand,
Pale Feare also, and Sorrowe all bewept,
Disdayne and Hatred on that other hand,
Eke restles watch fro slepe with trauayle kept,
His eye drowsy and lokinge as he slept;
Before her standeth Daunger and Enuy,
Flatery, Dyceyt, Mischeif and Tyranny.

contrasting her with Poverty, and advising men to choose her before Fortune :

Wherefore yf thou in suretie lyst to stande,
Take pouerties parte, and let prowde fortune go;
Receyue nothyng that commeth from her hande.
Loue Manner and Vertue; they be only tho
Which double Fortune may not take the fro;
Then mayst thou boldlie defye her tornyng chaunce;
She can the neyther hynder nor auance.

The third poem is 'Thomas More to them that seke Fortune,' and ends thus

"Then forasmuch as it is fortunes guyse
To graunt no manne all thinge that he will axe
But as her selfe lyst order and deuyse,
Doth euery manne his part deuide and taxe,
I counsayle you eche one trusse vp your packs,
And take nothing at all, or be content
With such rewarde as fortune hath you sent.

He meaneth
the booke of
fortune.

All thinges in this booke that ye shall rede,
Doe as ye list, there shall no man you bynde
Them to beleue as surely as your crede;
But notwithstandinge, certes in my mynde
I durst well sweare, as true you shall them fynde
In euery poynt, eche answer by and by,
As are the iudgementes of astronomye.

Thus endeth the preface to the booke of Fortune."

I think it clear, then, that Wyer's tract is a made-up one—after More's death in 1535 perhaps¹—and *not* 'the Booke of Fortune' that Captaiu Cox had. What that was, I can't say; but no doubt an edition of the book licensed to William Powell on Febr. 6, 1559–60.

Recevyd of William Powell, for his Lycense for pryntinge of the boke of fortune in folio, the vj. day of Februarij . . . viij d.
Stationers' Register A, leaf 48; *Collier's Extracts* i. 25.

The earliest Fortune-telling book under *Fortune* in the British Museum Catalogue, is "A merry- conceited Fortune-Teller:" P(r)ognostricating to all Trades and Professions their good and bad Fortune. Calculated according to Art, for the Meridian of England, but may serve for all four parts, East, West, North, and South, from the heginning of the world to the end thereof. [over a portrait of a man] London, Printed for John Andrews, at the White-Lion near Py-corner 1662." Here are a few extracts:

"Polterers shall have very good fortune if they can make Geese of their customers: and they shall have ill fortune when their old Coneys will not go off for young Rabits.

Booksellers shall have very good fortune by other mens wits: and they shall have ill fortune when they have no customers for their Books, but Sir Ajax [a jakes. See *Nares's Glossary*].

Citizens wives shall have very good fortune by going to Epsom-wells in the Summer-time, for there they may purge themselves of all their good qualities: but their Husbands shall have hornluck, for in the mean time they may chance to be made Cuckolds, and their wives cannot help it.

Labourers shall have very good fortune if they can have work all the year; and they shall have bad fortune, when they spend their wages on Saturday nights, and Sundays, and to have never a penny on Munday. . . .

Habberdashers shall have good fortune when each gallant wears

¹ R. Wyer printed from 1527 to 1542.

Beavers, and when Countrymen buy coarse felts : they shall have ill fortune when their knavery is felt out. . . .

Shoomakers shall have good fortune if they do not drink on Mundayes, & so play all the week : & they shall have ill fortune when the stitch of love takes them, so that they go beyond their Last, and run a woing to get a young Lass."

XXXVIII. *Stans Puer ad Mensam.* Of this well-known translation, or rather, paraphrase—probably by Lydgate—of a Latin poem on how a youth should behave at meals, Caxton printed a first edition in 4to, in his 2nd type, before 1479 (Blades's *How to tell a Caxton*, 1870, p. 53) ; the Duke of Devonshire has one copy ; and the only other known, that in Cambridge University Library, is imperfect. Then Wynkyn de Worde printed 3 editions,—the earliest one without a date, containing 12 leaves, and the others in 1518 and 1524 (in six leaves) in the Cambridge University Library. Of the first edition by Wynkyn De Worde, Mr. Bradshaw says :—" W. de Worde's edition is *Stans puer ad mensam* + 'Little John'¹, which fully accounts for the 12 leaves. He must have reprinted from a copy where Caxton's two were bound together. He reproduces Caxton's mistake of two pages transposed in printing, which is enough to show where he got his text." Mr. Bradshaw describes the book as

" *Stans puer ad mensam* in English by John Lidgate. The Book of Courtesy or Little John. London, Wynkyn de Worde, no date (1501–1510) 4^o.

Collation : A B in Sixes, 12 leaves.

Title (in white on a black ground) 'Stans puer ad mēsā'; below this block, three woodcuts of a man, a woman, and, between them, a family of children.

Colophon (on the last page) : (¶ Enprynted at London in Flete strete at the sygne of the sonne by me Wynkyn de Worde."

The book was licensed to Wally in 1557, as we have seen at p. lxxiv above. Doubtless there were several other old editions of it. A recast of it is worked into Hewe Rodes's *Boke of Nurture*, of editions of which before 1575 we know those by Johan Redman (about 1530), Thomas Colwell, Abraham Veale, Thomas Petyt, and perhaps John Kyng. See my reprint of H. Jackson's edition of 1577 in the *Babees Book*.

¹ Caxton's *Book of Curtesye*, edited by me for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series in 1868, from 2 MSS. and Caxton's unique print.

The short Latin original *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, I printed in the *Babees Book*, Part II, p. 30-3, with a literal englishing of it by Professor Seeley. In Part I of the same volume, pages 26-33 are two copies of the English paraphrase attributed to Lydgate, from the Lambeth MS. 853, about 1430 A.D., and the Harleian MS. 2251, probably about 1460 A.D. In my second *Babees Book*, or *Queene Elizabethes Achademy* &c. E. E. Text Soc. 1869, p. 56-64, is a much expanded version of the *Stans Puer* from the Ashmole MS. 61, after 1460 A.D. Of the shorter English version Mr. Halliwell printed a copy in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, i. 156-8 from the MS. 2. r. 8, at Jesus College, Cambridge; and Mr. W. C. Hazlitt printed the same copy, in his *Early Popular Poetry*, iii. 23, but collated with three MSS. in the British Museum, Harl. 4011, Lansdowne 699, and Additional 5467. There are other copies of the poem in Ashmole MS. 59, art. 57, &c., and a differing version in Cott. Calig. A ii. leaf 13.

The poem tells a youth, that when he stands before his sovereign at the table, he's not to speak recklessly, and is to keep his hands still; not to stare about, lean against a post, look at the wall, pick his nose, or scratch himself; to look steadily at the man who speaks to him, and not cast his head lumpishly down; not to laugh wantonly before his lord, and to walk demurely in the streets. Before meals, the youth is to clean his nails, and wash his hands. At meals, he's not to press up to too high a seat, or be too hasty to eat; he's not to grin, make faces, or shout; not to stuff his jaws too full, or drink too fast. He's to keep his lips clean, and wipe his spoon; not to make sops of his bread, drink with a dirty mouth, dirty the tablecloth, or pick his teeth with his knife. He's not to swear or talk ribaldry, or take the best morsels, but to share with his fellows, eat up his scraps, and keep his nails from getting black. Also, he's not to bring up anew old complaints, or play with his knife, shuffle his feet about, spill the broth over his chest, use dirty knives, or fill his spoon too full. He's to be quick in doing whatever his lord orders; to take salt with his knife, and not to dip his meat in the salt cellar; not to blow in the general cup, or quarrel with his fellows, or interrupt any man telling a story. He's to drink ale and wine only in moderation; not to talk too much; and is to be gentle and tractable, but not over soft, and not revengeful. Lastly, children who don't behave well are to have the rod. But if they attend to this 'litol balade,' it will lead them into all virtues.

XXXIX. *The Hy Way to the Spittl-house.* Of this very important and interesting sketch of the broken-downs, scamps, and rogues,—the resorters to Bartholomew's Hospital—in Henry VIII's time, after the Statute 22nd Henry VIII (1530-1) against vagabonds (l. 375), and after the Reformation was established (l. 551 of the poem) we have only copies of one edition, printed by the author and printer of the poem, Robert Copland. He printed it at the shop where, after at least 22 years' work, he was succeeded by William Copland (? his younger brother, or son) in 1547 or -8, the *Rose-garland in Fletestrete*¹. Mr. Utterson reprinted the *Hy Way* in his *Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry*, 1817, and Mr. W. C. Hazlitt also reprinted it in his *Early Popular Poetry*, 1866, iv. 17. After a Prologue, Copland tells us that about a fortnight after Hallowmas or All Saints' Day, Nov. 1, (the beggars' jubilee,) he took refuge from a storm under the porch of a hospital (Bartholomew's), and while there, talked to the porter, and saw a crowd of poor miserable people, and beggars, gather at the gate. (The hospital then gave temporary lodging to almost all the needy, as well as a permanent home to the deserving poor and sick; and Sisters attended to them.) Copland asks the Porter about the different classes of people who come to the hospital; and in their long talk—the poem is 1097 lines—all classes of the poor, the ne'er-do-weels, and the rascals, are described and discussed: twenty-three sets of them, I make.

First, Vagabonds² are rejected, and they lie huddled together like beasts about Smithfield market and places near, chiding and

¹ William Copland's dated Rose-Garland books range from 1548 to 1557; he afterwards moved to the Three Cranes in the Vintry, whence two of his dated books are Tyndale's Parable of the Wicked Mammon, 1561, and a NEVVE BOKE (of prayers etc., at Lambeth) 1561; lastly, he moved to Lothbury, whence he issued no dated book, so far as I know, but Andrew Boorde's First Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge that he printed at Lothbury was licensed in 1562-3. The full title of the *Neve Boke* is "(I A NEVVE BOKE / Conteyninge. / An exortacion to the sicke / The sycke mans prayer. / A prayer with thankes, / at the purification of women / A Consolation at buriall. / Colossi. iii. / (I What soeuer ye do in / word or dede, do al in the / name of the Lord Iesu, & / geue thankes vnto God / the father by hym. / M. D. LXL. /)". Collation. A B C in eights, D in four, (D ii signed D iii), the last leaf blank. *Colophon*. "(I Imprinted at London in / saynt Martines in the / Vintry vpon the thre / craned wharfe by / Wyllyam / Copland. / (.:) /" (The / marks the end of a line.)

² I ought to have referred to Robert Copland as one of Awdeley's and Harman's forerunners, in my Preface to their Vagabond-treatises, E. E. T. Soc. Extra Series, 1869.

brawling. 2, the persons admitted are the old, sick, and impotent, women in childbed, honest folk fallen in mischance, wayfaring men, maimed soldiers, and bedridden folk: all others have lodging for a night or two:—the modern Refuge, Poor-house, and Hospital, in one.—3, the Beggars, who work in pairs, one asking bygoers to take pity on the other: then one pulls out 11*d.*, ssays ‘we’ve had a bad day, but let’s go dine.’ These don’t come to the Hospital; their haunts are in Barbican, Turnmill St. (the whores’ quarter), Houndsditch, and behind the Fleet; and there they revel and get drunk, lying like swine on their bæcks. Some beggar-masters have men under them, who sham diseases, put soap in their mouths to make ‘em foam etc. These only come to the Hospital when they’re sick indeed. 4, the Masterless Men, who say they’ve served the King abroad, and beg for help till they get a fresh service. Of these are 2 classes, *a* open beggars, ragged and lowsy, who prowl about and steal; *b* Nightingales of Newgate, who walk about decently drest—‘In theyr hose trussed rounde to theyr dowblettes’—telling you where they’ve fought, or that they’ve been unjustly imprisoned, and then set free: all over the country they go, and they’ll rob you of purse and clothes if they get a chance; and then at night dress up in sword, buckler, and short dagger, swear, brag, and ‘passe the tyme with daunce, hore, pipe, (and) thefe.’ These at last come to the gal-lows or the Hospital. Ah, says Copland, the Vagabond Act of 1530–1 isn’t enforced; and the bawdy brybrons knaves who keep these Beggars-lodging-houses are not lookt after. 5. *Rogers*¹, who go about singing and praying, saying that they’re poor scholars: 6, *Clewners*, whom the Rogers obey as captains, and who say they’ve taken the degree of priest in the university, and want money to go home and sing their first Mass for their benefactors: 7 *Sapient*s of Quack-doctors, who work in two couples; the first Doctor affects not to know English; his mate tells a woman her child is near dying, bnt the Doctor can cure it. She gives the man money; the Doctor refuses any, but gives her some powder for her child; and the quacks go on. Next day the second couple come to her house, and say that the child is very bad, they’ll stay a fortnight until they make it well. These rogues don’t come to the Hospital. 8. *Pardoners*, whose business the

¹ I don’t find this, or any of the four next names, in Awdeley or Harman.

Reformation has taken away: these do come, though they're as big rogues as the others:

“For by letters they name them as they be;
P. a Pardoner: Clewner a C:
R. a Roger: A. an Aurium: and a Sapyent, S.”

Copland doesn't describe the Auriums, so far as I see. 9. The Porter then describes, in lines 573-743, the unthrifts who come to the Hospital: men with no heart towards God, bad sons, ale-house priests, wasteful heirs, poor people dressing finely, careless folk who don't keep accounts, bad landlords, men always going to law, negligent farmers, self-willed people, meddlers, foolish merchants and workmen, wasteful rufflers, taverners and innkeepers for whores and thieves, dishonest bakers and brewers, people who marry too young, insolvent merchants, waiters for relations' money, men letting their wives ruin them, etc. 10. Men with shrews for wives. 11. Negligent masters, changeable servants, borrowers, too generous parents, gluttons, untidy careless people. 12. Adulterers, swearers, and blasphemers. 13. Sluggards. 14. Usurers and extortioners, if they get poor; but 15. Thieves and murderers generally go to prison and the gallows. 16. Drunkards—Dutch folk and Flemings are the worst.—17. Quarrellers. 18. Proud decayed gentry. 19. Hypocrites. 20. Men with wasteful gay wives. 21. Pedlars talking cant, 'the patryng cove' etc. (with a specimen of Cant or Pedlyng Frenche). 22. Mariners of Cock Lorel's Boat, unthrifts, the 24 Orders of Knaves¹, and the Order of Fools. 23, and last, of women,

The systerhod of drabbes, sluttes and callets,
Do here resorte, with theyr bags and wallets
And be parteners of the confrary [= fraternity] 1080
Of the maynteners of yll husbandry.

'To eschue vyce I thè vndertoke,' says Robert Copland of his poem, which is a most valuable help to our knowledge of Henry VIII's time, the necessary complement to Halle's Chronicle of the splendour and gaiety of that king's court life.

XL. *Julian of Brainford's Testament.* Of this second poem by the old printer Robert Copland, two editions only are known, and they were both printed by William Copland, in black letter. Each contains eight leaves 4to., and the earlier one's title, ac-

¹ See Awdeley's 25 Orders of Knaves, after his *Fraternitye of Vacabondes*, in our edition (E. E. T. Soc.) p. 12.

ording to a copy made for me by Mr. G. Parker, is "Jyl of Breyntford's testament. Newly compiled," with the colophon "Imprinted at London in Lothbury ouer agaynst Saint Margarytes church by me Wylyyam Copland." A copy of this edition is in the Bodleian, among Selden's books, 4to, C. 39. Art. Seld. As it was printed in Lothbury, its date must be 1562 or a few years after. The later edition is called "Jyl of Braintford's testament newly compiled¹," and has a colophon "Imprinted at London by me William Copland." According to Mr. J. Payne Collier (*Bibl. Cat.* i. 152-3), the London edition of Jyl of Braintford is earlier than the Lothbury edition of Jyl of Breyntford, because the Lothbury edition corrects many mistakes of the London one. But this fact proves to me that the Lothbury edition is the earlier of the two, because it is a commonplace among old-book men that first editions are the correct ones, and reprints the careless ones. The truth of this has been impressed on me by the collations of the 1st and 2nd editions of Wynkyn de Worde's *Boke of Kerwinge* and Pope Piccolomini's *Luces and Eurialus* englished, No. XIV, p. xxxviii above. The date of the later 'London' edition of *Jyl of Braintford* must be between 1547 and 1567; near the latter year, I suppose.²

The object of the excellent old printer in writing the poem has been obscured by some readers dwelling only on the coarseness of the legacy left by the old alewife (a fart³) to the people whom she satirizes. The poem is really of the same class as *The Hye Way to the Spytel Hous*, and its main object is to show-up the follies and vices of Henry VIII's time. As Copland says of himself when he read the *Testament* given him:

It dyd styre me to fall on smylyng,
 Consyderyng the prety pastyme
 And rydcycle ordre of the ryme,
 The couert termes, vnder a mery
 sence,
 Shewyng of many the blynd insolence,

Tauntynge of thynges past and to come,
 Where as my selfe was hyt with some:
And for that cause I dyd intend
After thys maner to haue it pende,
Prayeng all them that mery be,
If it touch them, not to blame me.

And again at the end, Robert Copland says, that his hostess's legacies are

Wyllid to them that, without aduysement,
 Do that thyng waer-of they repent.

¹ Hazlitt's Handbook which spells 'Breyntford.'

² I expect that all W. Copland's "London" books were printed at Lothbury, and possibly after those printed "at London in Lothbury."

Compare Chaucer, in the *Frere's Tale*.

Only one or two of these 'things' blamed or ridiculed—the treatment of a fair wench, and a thirsty bystander—are right morally; the rest are all wrong or foolish; the people who do them, being those who would ultimately have to take refuge in Copland's 'Spytel-Hous,' St. Bartholomew's. The setting of the story, the tale to point the moral, is unnecessarily coarse; but so was Copland's time; we must put up with the rough husk if we get the kernel.

The old alewife leaves twenty-five of her 'raps' to twenty-five sets of fools, and one and a half to the curate who makes her will. Let's take the first six as a sample. They are

- (1) . . . hym that is angry
With his frend, and wotes not why.
- 2 . . . hym that selleth al his herytage,
And all his lyfe lyueth in seruage . . .
- 3 He that settes by no man, nor none by hym,
And to promociion fayn wold clym. . . .
4. He that wyll not lerne, and can do nothyng,
And with lewed folk is euer conuersyng . . .
5. He that boroweth without aduantage,
And euermore renneth in arrerage . . .
6. He that geueth, and kepeth nought at all,
And by kyndnes to pouerte dooth fall.

Robert Copland says, or pretends, that a mery fellow, John Hardlesay, whom he met at Brentford, and with whom he went to drink at the Red Lion, at the shambles' end, first explained to him the meaning of Old Jyl's legacy, and gave him a tattered copy of her Testament.

As this tract has not been reprinted lately (I believe), I shall send it to press shortly, with another of the same class¹, *The Wyll of the Dewyl*, of which a unique copy of the early edition is at Lambeth. I have heard that Mr. J. P. Collier has reprinted a later edition in one of his Series. Mr. Halliwell noticed *Jyl of Breyntford* in his edition of 'The First Sketch of Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor' for the Shakespeare Society, 1842, p. 68; and he said that the only copy of the earlier edition passed through the hands of Ritson and Heber; but neither he nor Mr. Collier said where it was when they wrote. Buried in the case of some bibliotaph², perhaps.

¹ The verse 'Talk of Ten Wives on their Husbands' Ware,' by some successor of the Wife of Bath, and a few other like pieces, will be included in the volume.

² See Blades's *How to tell a Caxton*, 1870, p. 27.

XLI. *Castle of Love.* The original of this, says Mr. W. F. Cosens, is the *Carcel de Amor* or Prison of Love, by Diego de San Pedro, published in 1492. Diego's poetry, says Mr. Ticknor (*Hist. Spanish Lit.* 1863, i. 382) "is found in all the *Cancioneros Generales*. He was evidently known at the court of the Catholic sovereigns [Ferdinand and Isabella], and seems to have been favoured there; but if we may judge from his principal poem, entitled 'Contempt of Fortune,' his old age was unhappy, and filled with regrets at the follies of his youth. Among these follies, however, he reckons the work of prose fiction which now constitutes his only real claim to be remembered. It is called the Prison of Love '*Carcel de Amor*,' and was written at the request of Diego Hernandez, a governor of the pages in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella.

"It opens with an allegory. The author supposes himself to walk out on a winter's morning, and to find in a wood a fierce, savage-looking person who drags along an unhappy prisoner bound by a chain. This savage is Desire; and his victim is Leriano, the hero of the fiction. San Pedro, from natural sympathy, follows them to the Castle or Prison of Love, where, after groping through sundry mystical passages and troubles, he sees the victim fastened to a fiery seat, and enduring the most cruel torments. Leriano tells him that they are in the kingdom of Macedonia, that he is enamoured of Laureola, daughter of its king, and that for his love he is thus cruelly imprisoned; all of which he illustrates and explains allegorically, and begs the author to carry a message to the lady Laureola. The request is kindly granted, and a correspondence takes place, immediately upon which Leriano is released from his prison, and the allegorical part of the work is brought to an end.

"From this time the story is much like an episode in one of the tales of chivalry. A rival discovers the attachment between Leriano and Laureola, and, making it appear to the king, her father, as a criminal one, the lady is cast into prison. Leriano challenges her accuser, and defeats him in the lists; but the accusation is renewed, and, being fully sustained by false witnesses, Laureola is condemned to death. Leriano rescues her with an armed force, and delivers her to the protection of her uncle, that there may exist no further pretext for malicious interference. The king, exasperated anew, besieges Leriano in his city of Susa.

In the course of the siege, Leriano captures one of the false witnesses, and compels him to confess his guilt. The king, on learning this, joyfully receives his daughter again, and shows all favor to her faithful lover. But Laureola, for her own honor's sake, now refuses to hold further intercourse with him; in consequence of which, he takes to his bed, and, with sorrow and fasting, dies. Here the original work ends; but there is a poor continuation of it by Nicolas Nuñez, which gives an account of the grief of Laureola, and the return of the author to Spain."

The style, so far as Diego de San Pedro is concerned, is good for the age; very pithy, and full of rich aphorisms and antitheses. But there is no skill in the construction of the fable, and the whole work only shows how little romantic fiction was advanced in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. The *Carcel de Amor* was however, very successful. The first edition appeared in 1492 two others followed in less than eight years; and, before a century was completed, it is easy to reckon ten, besides many translations¹.

Mr. F. W. Cosens says: "In Gayangos and Védia's Spanish edition of *Ticknor* is the following note. Tomo 3^o, p. 546:—The 'chivalresque-sentimental' novel to which genus belongs the *Carcel de Amour* of San Pedro was imported from Italy, but never enjoyed much favour in Spain, rapidly passing away to give place to 'books of chivalry,' which in time became absolute masters of the field."

XLII. *The Booget of Demaunds.* This is perhaps "The Demaundes Joyous," a short set of comical Questions and Answers, the first printed edition of which (according to the reprint, which Mr. Collier says had about 50 mistakes) has this Colophon, "Thus endeth y^e Demaundes Joyous / Emprinted at London in Fletestre/te at the sygne of the Sonne² by / me Wynkyn de worde / In the yere of our / lorde a M / CCCC / and xi." It was reprinted in 1829 from the unique copy belonging to the late Richard Heber, by Thomas White, and the British Museum copy is inserted between the 'Contents' and text of Hartshorne's *Ancient Metrical Tales*, 1829. Mr. Collier has described the book in his *Bibl. Catal.* i. 217-18.

¹ See Brunet, under *San Pedro*, iv. 193. The earliest French translation is *La prison damours*, Paris, Galiot du Pre, 1526, reprinted in Paris 1527. Others are *Lyon* 1528, *Paris* 1533, 1552, etc.

² 'swane' says the reprint, but it's 'Sonne' says Mr. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* i. 218.

Here is a sample of the *Demaundes* from the careless reprint:
 “¶ *Demaunde*. where became y^e asse that our lady rode upon.
 ¶ Adams moder dede ete her. ¶ *Demaunde*. who was Adams moder.
 ¶ The erthe. . . ¶ *Demaunde*. How many calues tayles behoueth to reche frome the erthe to the skye. ¶ No more but one if it be longe ynough. . . ¶ *Demaunde*. What thyng is it that neuer was nor neuer shall be. ¶ Neuer mouse made her nest in a cattes ere. . . ¶ *Demaunde*. why doth an oxe or a cowe lye. Bycause she can not sytte. . . ¶ *Demaunde*. How many strawes go to a gose nest. ¶ None, for lacke of fete. ¶ *Demaunde*. what tyme in the yere bereth a gose moost feders. ¶ When the gander is upon her backe.”

Mr. J. M. Kemble reprinted the *Demaundes* in his *Vercelli Poems* for the Ælfric Society.

Mr. Halliwell says, however, that Captain Cox's book is probably “Delectable demandes and pleasaunt questions, with their seuerall aunswers in matters of loue, naturall causes, with morall and politique deuises. Newly translated out of Frenche into Englishe, this present year of our Lord God,” 1566, printed by John Cawood in 4to. *Dibdin's Ames*, iv. 401, No. 2551. I can find no reference to the dwelling-place of any copy of this book. But as we are among Captain Cox's books of ‘philosophy . . . beside poetrie and astronomie, and oother hid sciences,’ it is more than possible that the *Booget of Demaundes* was “The Boke of Demaundes of the scyence of Phylosophye and Astronomye. Betwene Kynge Boccus and the Phylosopher Sydracke. Printed by R. Wyer¹, no date, 8vo, black letter, A to D in fours,” a later edition of which Mr. Collier says is to be understood by the following entry in the Stationers' Register A, leaf 86,

nicholas Recevyd of nicholas Wyer, for his lycense for pryntinge of a boke
 Wyer intituled the demaundes iijjd

No copy of this edition is specified.

XLIII. *The Hundred Mery Tales*. This is one of the best of our old Jest-Books, and is alluded to by Shakspeare in his *Much Ado about Nothing*. We know of only 2 old editions of it, both by Rastell, and of each only one copy is known. The earlier of the two editions is no doubt that of 1526, “A .C. mery talys,”

¹ Robert Wyer's date is 1534-42, and Richard Wyer's 1548-50, both more or less, according to Ames and Dibdin.

whose colophon is “¶ Thus endeth the booke of a .C. mery talys. Emprynted at London at the sygne of the Merymayd At Powlys gate next to chepe syde. ¶ The yere of our Lorde .M. v. C. xxvi. ¶ The xxii. day of Nouember. Johannes Rastell. ¶ Cum preuilegio Regali.” This was re-edited in 1866 by the discoverer of it, Dr. Herman Oesterley, from the only perfect copy known, which is in the Royal Library of the University of Göttingen. The copy of the later edition by Rastell is imperfect; it was discovered by the Rev. J. J. Conybeare in 1815, reprinted in the same year as Part II. of Mr. J. W. Singer’s *Shakespeare Jest-Books* (3 Parts 1814–16), and again reprinted by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt in his *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, 1864. Besides many small differences, this later undated edition leaves out 4 tales and three ‘morals’ that the 1526 edition has, but puts 3 new tales instead of them. Of the edition by Walley in 1558¹, no copy is known. The character of the book may be gathered from two short tales at the page on which my copy of Dr. Oesterley’s edition chanced to open, and that next to it, p. 77, 78,—tales of which no originals were known to the Editor of them²:—

XLV. *Of the plowmannys sonne that sayd he saw one make
a Gose to krekke sweetly.*

There was a certayn ploughmannys sonne of the contrey, of the age ofe .xvi. yeres, that neuer come moche among company, but alway went to plough and husbandry / On a tyme this yong lad went to a weddyng with hys fader, when he see one lute vppon a lute³. And when he came home agayne at nyght, his moder askyd hym what sport he hade at weddyng. This lad answeryd and sayd, “by my trouth, moder,” quod he, “ther was one that brought in a gose betweene his armys, and tykled her so vppon the nek, that she creakyd the swetlyest that euer I hard gose creake in my lyfe.

XLVI. *Of the maydys answeere that was with chylde.*

In a marchauntys house in London there was a mayd whiche

¹ See the entry above, p. lxxiv.

² The 56th Tale alludes to the Coventry Plays. A parish priest of a village in Warwickshire preaches to his parishioners on the Twelve Articles of the Belief, and winds up thus: “these artycles ye be bounde to beleeue, for they be trew, & of auctoryte. And yf you beleue not me / then, for a more suerte, & suffycient auctoryte / go your way to Couentre / and there ye shall se them all playd in Corpus Cristi playe” (p. 100). Dr. Oesterley notes that these XII Articles of the Creed are in the Chester Play of “The Emission of the Holy Ghost,” *Chester Plays*, vol. ii. p. 134, Shaksp. Soc., 1847.

³ See p. 66 below, as to the shape of the lute.

was gotten with chylde; to whome the mastres of the house came, & chargyd her to tell who was the fader of the chylde. To whome the mayden answeyrd, "forsoth, no body" / "why!" quod the maystres "yt ys not possyble but some manne muste be the fader thereof." To whome the mayd sayd / "why, mastres? why may not I haue a chylde without a man, as well as a hen to lay eggys wythout a cok."

¶ Here ye may see it is harde to fynde a woman wythout an excuse.

As another old writer says, "excuses are neuer further off women than their apron strings." (*Tarlton's Newes out of Purgatorie*, 4to, London, 1590, The Tale of the two lovers of Pisa.)

XLIV. *The Book of Riddels.* This set of questions and answers like the *Demaundes Joyous*, p. cvii, above, I have not been able to see, and therefore take Mr. J. P. Collier's description of it from his *Bibliographical Catalogue*, ii. 264. Mr. Halliwell says that the 1629 edition of the *Book* is in the Library of the Earl of Ellesmere.

"The Booke of mery Riddles. Together with proper Questions, and wittie Proverbs to make pleasant Pastime. No lesse usefull then behooefull for any yong man or child to know if he be quicke-witted or no.—London. Printed by Edward Allde, dwelling in Little Saint Bartholomewes, neere Christ-church. 1600. 8vo. B. L. 24 leaves.

"We can very well believe that this was not only "the book of riddles" which Master Slender had leut to Alice Shortcake, but that it was the edition which Shakespeare had in his mind when he wrote "The Merry Wives of Windsor" about the date when the reprint before us (for such it no doubt was) was brought out. We take it also, that it was a recent edition of the same "book of riddels" which Laneham in his Letter from Kenilworth mentions in 1575 as in the library of Captain Cox. (See vol. i. p. 451.)

"How many times it may have been reprinted between 1575 and 1600 it is impossible to state; but we never find it entered in the Stationers' Registers, and the oldest impression hitherto known, until the discovery of the present copy, was of the year 1629, when it was 'printed by T. C. for Michael Sparke, dwelling in Greene Arbor at the signe of the blue Bible.' We may be sure that such a collection was in great popular demand, but between 1631¹ and 1660 we are aware of no reproduction of it: in 1660 it

¹ "The exact wording of the title-page of the edit. 1631 is: "A Booke of Merrie Riddles. Very meete and delightfull for youth to try their wits.—

was 'printed for John Stafford and W. G. and are to be sold at the George near Fleetbridg.' All copies are in black letter, and the intermediate edition of 1631 was printed by Robert Bird in Cheapside.

"The wording of the title-page is nearly the same in all the copies we have been able to examine, but it is to be observed that the impression of 1660, although it announces 'proper questions and witty proverbs,' contains nothing of the kind: nevertheless, it is obviously complete, with the word *Finis*, and the initials of the publishers, in a chaplet, at the end. The 'proper questions and witty proverbs' was therefore a false pretence, and the book consists of only 12 leaves. All editions have the following lines opposite the title-page, but they are sometimes differently divided:—

<p>'Is the wit quicke? Then do not stick To reade these Riddes darke:</p>	<p>Which if thou doo, And rightly too, Thou art a witty sparke.'</p>
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Later copies than the one we have used read 'Is *thy* wit quicke,' and it is perhaps right. The antiquity of some of the riddles is thus established, carrying us back fourteen years anterior to the date of Laneham's Letter from Kenilworth:—

'What is that, round as a ball,
Longer than Pauls steeple, weather cock & all?'

The answer, called 'solution,' is 'It is a round bottome of thread when it is unwound.' Now, we know that the steeple of St. Paul's, with its weathercock, was consumed by fire, occasioned by lightning, in June, 1561. (Stow's *Annales*, p. 1055, edit. 1605,

London. Printed for Robert Bird and are to bee solde at his shoppe in Cheapeside at the sign of the Bible. 1631." 12mo B. L. 11 leaves.

"We quote the following from the Edit. 1630, the more curious because it contains the words of a very old Catch, then usually sung by 'Ale Knights,' and which has come down to our day.

<p>Q. I am foule to be looked unto, Yet many seeke me for to win, Not for my beauty, nor my skin, But for my wealth and force to know. Hards is my meate whereby I live, Yet I bring men to dainty fare: If I were not, then Ale-Knights should To sing this song not be so bold,</p>	<p><i>Nutmegs, Ginger, Cinamon and Cloves, They gave us this jolly red nose. The foure parts of the world I show, The time and howers as the doe goe; As needfull am I to mankind As any thing that they can find. Many doe take me for their guide, Who otherwise would runne aside.</i></p>
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'Sol(ution). It (is) a Loadstone, for without it no Pilot were able to guide a ship in the Ocean Seas.'"

edit. 1631, p. 647, and this vol. p. 134.) The riddle was therefore older than 1561.

“Some of the best Riddles are in ‘The Demaundes Joyous¹,’ printed by Wynken de Worde in 1511, (reviewed in vol. i. p. 217) the first of which is—‘Who bare the best burden³ that ever was borne?’ and the answer, ‘That bare the asse when our lady fled with our lorde into egypte.’ It stands thus in our ‘Booke of Merry Riddles,’ 1660—‘Who bare the best burthen that was ever bore at any time since, or at any time before?’ with the following ‘solution:’ ‘It was the Asse that bare both our Lady and her son into Egypt.’ Again, in the ‘Demaundes Joyous’ we have, just afterwards—‘What space is from y^e hyest space of the se to the depest?’—‘But a stoness cast.’ In our more modern form it is given as follows—‘What space is from the highest of the sea to the bottom?—*Solut.* A stoness cast, for a stone throwne in, be it never so deepe, will go to the bottome.’ A third instance from the ‘Demaundes Joyous’ is this—‘How many calves tayles behoueth to reche from the erthe to the skye?—No more but one, if it be longe enough.’ The Riddle-book of 1600 has in it nearly the same terms—‘How manie Calves tayles will reach to the sky?—*Solut.* One, if it bee long enough.’ The two last are precisely the same in the impressions of 1629, 1631 and 1660.

“The following was no doubt, invented and printed before the Reformation, but it is not in the ‘Demaundes Joyous’ for obvious reasons: ‘Of what faculty be they that everie night turn the skins of dead beastes? *Solution.* Those be Fryars, for everie night at Mattins [Vespers] they turn the leaves of their parchment bookes that be made of sheep skins, or calves skins.’ The following is of a different character to the riddles we have already noticed, but it is not at first very intelligible:—

‘L and V and C and I,
So hight my Lady at the Font stone.’

The ‘solution,’ so to call it, is thus given: ‘Her name is Lucy, for in the first line is LVCI, which is Lucy: but the Riddle must be put and read thus: fifty and five, a hundred and one: then is the riddle very proper, for L standeth for fifty, & V for five, C for an hundred and I for one.’

¹ See No. XLII, p. cvii, above.

“Some are in rhyme, as the following, which is in substance and in prose, also in the ‘Demaundes Joyous:’—

‘A water there is which I must passe; | And yet of all waters that ever I see
a broader water there never was, | To pass it over is lest jeopardie.’

The solution in 1600 is “It is the due [dew] for that lyeth over all the world:” ‘Demaundes Joyous’ adds “Which is the broadest water and the leest jeopardye to passe over.”

“The most curious and interesting part of this little volume consists of a list of ‘witty Proverbs,’ which as we have stated, are altogether omitted in the reprint of 1660. They are entirely miscellaneous, and we select only a few of the most pointed and satirical.

‘There is no vertue that povertie destroyeth not.
All weapons of warre cannot arme feare.
Chuse not a woman, nor linnen cloth, by a candle.
He helps little that helpeth not himselfe.
He knoweth enough that knoweth nothing, if so bee hee know
how to holde his peace.
He danceth well enough to whom Fortune pipeth.
He that liveth in Court dyeth upon straw.
That is well done is done soon enough.
Marvell is the daughter of ignorance.
The deeds are manly, and the words womanly.
He that soweth vertue shall reape fame.
The hearts mirth doth make the face fayre.
He that is in poverty is still in suspition.
He that goeth to bed with dogs riseth with fleas.
Fryars observants spare their owne, and eate other mens.
All draw water to their owne mill.’

“In the whole there are 131 of the Proverbs.

“The following shows that some of the proverbs are of foreign origin:—

‘Venice, hee that doth not see thee doth not esteeme thee.’

This is, of course, Shakespeare’s ‘Venezia, Venezia, chi non te vede non te pregia¹’ (L. L. L., A. iv. sc. 2) which, perhaps, he had from Florio’s ‘Second Fruits’ 1591, but without the sequel; which,

¹ In the Folio, *venchie, vencha, que non te vnde, que non te perreche*, Booth’s reprint, p. 132, col. 1.

among other places, we meet with in Howel's Letters, p. 53, edit. 1655,

' Venetia Venetia, chi non te vede non te pregiã,
Ma che t' ha troppo veduto te dispregia.'

Which has been thus translated:—

' He who ne'er saw thee, Venice, cannot prize thee.
He who too much has seen thee must despise thee.'

Thus we see that our great dramatist may be illustrated from the most unlikely sources, for there was nothing too vast for his intellect, nor too insignificant for his observation. The small book of Riddles in our hands throws light upon two of his noble dramas."

XLV. *The Seauen Sororz of Wemen.* 'I am not acquainted with any tract bearing this title,' says Mr. Halliwell, and so say I. Any one who has not read the curious set of poems on Women in Mr. Hazlitt's 4th volume of *Early Popular Poetry*, 1866, should read them forthwith: they are The Payne and Sorowe of Euyll Maryage, The Boke of Mayd Emlyn, The Schole-house of Women, The Proude Wyues Pater-noster (see next article here), A merry Jeste of a Shrewde and curste Wyfe lapped in Morelles skin (see No. XXVI. p. lxiv above), A Treatyse shewing and declaring the Pryde and Abuse of Women NowaDayes, and A Glasse to Viewe the Pride of Vaine-Glorious Women.

XLVI. *The Proud Wives Paternoster.* Customs founded on the weaknesses of human nature abide; and as women in early days didn't like going to church when it rained (*Babees Book*, p. 36, l. 12), so they don't now; as, when there in old time, they lookt at one another's dresses, envied their neighbours' finery and resolved to outdo it, so they do now, more or less; and as men of old quizzed them for it, and protested against waste of money on overgay frocks &c., so do some now. When will women dress as comfort and good sense (and men?) dictate, and not to outbrave other women, or imitate nasty French models? But one mustn't grumble at small faults in great goods, and I hope we're on the mend: short frocks are in, chignons out; may sausages and pads soon disappear, and female heads retake their natural shape!

The Proud Wife goes to church, like other wives, thinking how 'to go gaye' and 'as gorgyous as other.' She says the clauses of the Pater Noster, and adds thought-tags not in the original Lord's Prayer, whereof here is a specimen:

- ¶ *Adueniat regnum tuum*—thy kingdom come to vs
 After this lyfe, when we hens shall wende! (1. 50)
 But whyle we be here now, swete Jesus,
 As other women haue, suche grace in me sende,
 That I may haue, Lorde, my heede in to wrap,
 After the guyse, kerchefes that be fyne,¹
 And theron to sette some lusty trymme cap,
 With smockes wel wrought, soude with sylken twyne.
- ¶ *Fiat voluntas tua*—thy well [will] fulfilled be
 Lorde god, alway! as thys tyme doth requyre:
 And as my gossep that sytteth here by me,
 So let me be trymmed: nought elles I desyre. . . . (1. 60)
- ¶ *Sicut in celo et in terra*—in heauen as in erthe; (1. 65)
 Yt is alway sene, go we neuer so farre,
 That women aboue all, the beaute bereth;
 And without gaye gere our beaute we marre;
 Therefore, good lorde, let this be a-mende,
 And gaye gere to were, that I may haue, (1. 70)
 Or elles my lyfe wyll haue an ende:
 For very pure thought [anxiety], nought can me saue.

The Proud Wife nearly swoons; but her gossip wrings her finger and revives her, and then sympathises with her in her trouble—the stinginess of her husband who won't give her money to buy fine clothes. The Gossip tells her how to manage the man: take a third of his gains, and spend it on 'rybandes of sylke . . with tryangles trymly made poynte deuyse,' 'fyne hoose,' and 'trym shos';² then ask him for whatever she wants, but not when he's angry; crave it with loving countenance and fair words, asking only for small trifles at first, and then she'll get whatever large gifts she wants. But if he won't attend to her, and plays the churl, then the Wife must do so too, seize half of his goods—half is hers, and half his.

The Proud Wife says she shall get nothing but fists and staves if she does ask her husband for money, and so she shall take what she can, and get another mate. After service, though, she does ask her goodman, and he quietly reasons with her; tells her he's

¹ Compare Chaucer's Wife of Bath, *ProL. Cant. Tales*, l. 453-5. (Group A, § 1):

Hir *couerchiefs* / ful *fyne* weren of grounde
 I dorste swere / they weyeden ten pounde
 That on a *Sonday* / weren vpon hir heede

² Compare again Chaucer's Wife,

Hir *hosen* weren of *fyne* scarlet reede
 fful streite yteyd / and *shoes* ful moyste and newe.

ib. l. 456-7, Ellesmere MS.

in debt, has only £20 to pay a hundred with, wears simple clothes himself, and cannot give her anything unless he steals it. His Wife only abuses and threatens him; and he, poor man, goes to consult his curate about it. After Mass, the priest can only say, 'do well and trust in God;' and the poor man goes home, to find that his wife has carried off all his 'short endes & mony that he had in store,' so that he's undone for ever.

"Suche *Pater Noster* some wyues do saye." But instead of it they'd better say 'the gow[ld]en Paternoster of deuocion,' of which we'll quote one stanza, l. 521-8 :

Chryt Jesu our kynge, and his mother dere,
 Be in our nede our socour and comferte,
 Our soules from synne to preserue clere,
 That the flame of charyte in vs reporte;
 To whom that we may resorte
 With blisful armony both all and summe;
 Swete Jesus! for vs exhorte,
 That vnto us—*Adueniat regnum tuum.*

This abstract is made from Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's reprint of the two poems in *Early Popular Poetry* iv. 147-178, from the undated edition in the Bodleian, by Kyngge, 576 lines. John Awdeley's edition, licensed on Aug. 14, 1560 (see the next article) has not come down to us, but we have two editions by John Kyngge, one dated 1560, and the other undated:—

The Proude Wyves Pater noster that wolde go gaye, and undyd her Husbonde and went her waye. Anno Domini MDLX. [With a woodcut on the title of a man with purses at his girdle. *Colophon*] Imprinted at London in Paules Churchye yearde at the Sygne of the Swane by John Kyngge. 4to, black letter.

The License for this on June 10, 1560, has been already quoted from the Stationers' Register A, at p. xxiii above. The only copy now known is, I suppose, in Lord Ellesmere's Library (*Collier's Bibl. Account*, ii. 201). The title of the unique Bodleian copy is

The Proude wyues Pater noster, that wolde go gaye, and vndyd her husbonde and went her waye. [With a woodcut on the title of two women conversing, the righthand one the same as that on p. 167 of my reprint of Boorde's *Introduction of Knowledge*. *Colophon*.] ¶ Imprinted at London in Paules Churcheyearde at the Sygne of the Swane by John Kyngge. 4to. black letter. (*Hazlitt*.)

XLVII. *The Chapman of a Peneworth of Wit.* This is the poem printed by Ritson in his *Ancient Popular Poetry*, 1791, from the Cambr. Univ. Libr. MS. Ff ii. 38, and by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt, in his *Early Popular Poetry*, vol. i. p. 193—from the Harl. MS.

5396, the Auchinleck MS. (as printed by Mr. D. Laing) and the Cambridge MS.—under its other title of “How a Merchande dyd hys wyfe betray.” An edition that has not reacht us was licensed on Aug. 14, 1560.

“Re of John Sampson,¹ for his Lycense for *the* prynting of the proude wyues pater noster: *a panyworth of wytt*, and the plowmans pater noster, the xiiij of auguste xij^d”

Other editions were licensed to John Charlwood on 15 January 1581–2 (*Collier's Stat. Reg.* ii. 155) and to Edward White on 16 August, 1586 (*ib.* p. 213), but they have not reacht us, nor has any other early printed copy. The earliest MS. of the poem is the Auchinleck, 1320–30 A.D., edited by Mr. David Laing for the Abbotsford Club in 1857, as “A Penni-worth of Witte, Florice and Blancheflour, and other Pieces of Antient English Poetry.” It contains a few lines more than the MSS of 100 or 120 years later printed by Ritson and Mr. Hazlitt; but the Harleian MS. only contains half the poem. Mr. Laing says that the origin of the poem is the fabliau of “La Bourse pleine de sens” printed in the third volume of Barbazan’s collection of *Fabliaux et Contes*, ed. 1808.

A merchant has a true wife, but neglects her for a paramour or concubine, to whom he gives rich gifts. When he is going to sea, he asks his wife whether she has any money to give him to buy her a present. She gives him a penny to buy her a Pennyworth of Wit, and keep it in his heart. The merchant sails to France, and buys his leman brooches, jewelry, and many fair things. Then, in the hearing of an old man, he wonders where he can get a pennyworth of wit for his wife. The old man answers ‘Have you a leman or a wife?’ ‘Both,’ says the merchant, ‘and I love my paramour best.’ ‘Then,’ says the old man, ‘when you get home, put on old clothes; say that you’ve been shipwrecked, have lost everything, and have slain a man; ask for a night’s refuge; and live with the woman who treats you best.’ For this Pennyworth, the merchant pays his wife’s penny, and acts on the advice. His paramour sees him coming in old clothes, declares she won’t admit him: and on hearing his story, threatens to fetch the bailiffs if

¹ He is Awdeley, who wrote the *Fraternitye of Vacabondes*, and was called Sampson Awdley, or John Sampson. There’s an entry in the Stat. Reg. with his aliases. (See the *Fraternitye*, with Harman’s *Caueat*, E. E. T. Soc. 1869.)

he doesn't go off. He does go, to his wife; and she receives him gladly, like the Nutbrown Maid, says she'll shelter him, work for him, beg his pardon of the king; "I will never forsake thee in thy woe!" He sleeps with her; and next morning dresses himself richly, and goes to his paramour. She now is eager to kiss him and abuse his wife. But he won't have it. She puts down all the presents he has given her, £400 worth; and he sends them home to his wife as her own, bought with her penny; and lives with her happily ever after.

III. CAPTAIN COX'S ANCIENT PLAYS.

We have now reacht another division of Captain Cox's books, his four "auncient Playz." Of these, the first,

XLVIII. *Yooth and Charitee*, is no doubt that of which another edition was licensed to John Wally or Waley in 1557, and the entry of which, already quoted at p. lxxiv, is among the earliest in the Stationers' Register A, and is on leaf 22:

To mr. John Wally these bokes, Called Welthe and helthe / the treatise of the ffere and the boye¹ / stans puer ad mensam²; a nother, *youghte, charyte, and humylyte*; an a b c for cheldren, in englesshe, with syllabes; also a boke called an hundreth mery tayles³. ijs

A copy of this edition—or perhaps a later and more carelessly printed one from the same press⁴—is in the British Museum (C. 34. b. 24) "Thenterlude of youth" over cuts of Charitie and Youth, with the colophon, "Imprinted at London by John waley / dwell- yng in Foster lane." Another edition is also in the Museum (C. 34. e. 38) "The Enterlude of youth," over cuts of Charite, Youth (the cut used in Boorde's *Introduction of Knowledge*, for a Bohemian, p. 166 of my reprint 1870) and a third figure for Humility (the cut in Boorde's *Introduction*, for a Dane, p. 162 of my reprint); and as the colophon is "Imprinted at London in Lothbury over a. / gainst Sainct Margarytes church by me / Wyllyam Copland. /," the date of the book must be 1562 or after, as Copland was at the Three Craned wharf in the Vintry in 1561, and at the Rose Garland, Fleet St. before that⁵. The Rev. S. R. Maitland in his *Early Printed Books at Lambeth*

¹ See No. XXXI, p. lxxiii, above.

² See XXXVIII. p. xcix, above.

³ See No. XLIII. p. cviii, above.

⁴ See p. cix. I don't suppose that Coplande printed from Waley's edition.

⁵ See p. xlviij, above.

1843, p. 309 &c. reprints a fragment of four leaves of another edition¹.

Charity tries to persuade Youth to follow God's laws, but Youth scorns him, and threatens to stab him; so he goes away to fetch Humility to convince Youth. Then comes Riot from Newgate, and promises Youth some wine and a wench at the tavern, and gets him Pride as his servant. Pride suggests that Youth shall take a wife; but Riot poohpoohs this, and says he must have Pride's sister, Lady Lechery, as his lemman. She comes, to Youth's delight, and they are all going off to the tavern, where Pride is to be Rector Chori (see my pref. to *Awdeley* etc., p. xv), when Charity interrupts them; but they chain him hand and foot, and go on. Humility then comes up, and looses Charity, and the tavern party come back to them. A dispute for Youth follows: At first he promises to follow Riot; but, on hearing from Charity how Jesus bought back men from hell with his blood, desires to save his soul, and betakes himself to God.

As a sample of the play, and the 2 editions (of which Copland's is the more correct), take Riot's speech as to what he can teach Youth, sign C. iiii.

John Waley, 1557.

Syr [I] can teache you to play at the
dice,
At the quenes game, and at the
Iryshe,
The Treygobet and the hasarde also,
And many other games mo.
Also at the cardes I can theche you
to play,
At the triump, and one and thyrtye,
Post, pinion, and also aumsase,
And at an³ other they call dewspace.
Yet I can tel you more, & ye wyll
con me thanke,
Pinke, and drinke, and also at the
hlanke,
And many sportes mo.

Wyllyam Copland, after 1561².

Syr, I can teache you to play at the
dice,
At the quenes game, and at the
Iryshe⁴,
The Treygobet, and the hasarde also,
And many other games mo.
Also at the cardes I can teche you
to play,
At the triumph, and on and thirtye,
Post, pinion, and also aumsase,
And at an other they call dewspace.
Yet I can tel you mor, & ye will
con me thanke,
Pinke, and drinke, and also at the
blanke,
And mane sportes mo.

XLIX. *Hikskorner*. Title "Hycke scorner" in a riband over a treble woodcut, with 3 single cuts below (the middle one an elephant with a castle on its back), and on the back, six single cuts

¹ Maitland had not seen Waley's edition in the Museum. I have compared his extracts with Waley's and Copland's books.

² He printed books in 1567; p. xxxviii-xxxix, above.

³ ad, orig.

⁴ A kind of backgammon. *Hazlitt's Brand*, ii. 315.

of 1. Contempla[tion], 2 Pyte, 3 Frewyll, 4. Imagyna[cion], 5 Hyckscorner, 6. Perseue[rance]; of which no. 4 was afterwards used by Wm. Coplande for a Saxon, a Spaniard, an Egyptian, etc. in Boorde's *Introduction of Knowledge* (p. 165 etc. of my reprint); no. 2 for a Lombard, and a Latin man, by W. Copland, *ib.* p. 186; and for Boorde¹, by R. Wyer, *ib.* p. 305; and no. 5 by W. Coplande for a Bohemian, *ib.* p. 166.

The colophon is "Enprynted by me Wynkyn de Worde," over his device, the Sun and 2 planets ringed with stars, Caxton's monogram 'W C' below, and 'wynkyn de worde,' with his ornaments underneath.

First appear, one after the other, Pyte, Contemplacyon, and Perseuerance, each describing himself, and Pity complaining of the poverty then existing, how unkind rich men are, and how lords force widows to marry their men. Then comes Frewyll, boasting of his drinking and wenching, and calls Imagynacyon, who has been in the stocks, and lost his purse on a girl; who describes himself as the friend of lawyers and all who like lies; and who tells some of his tricks. To them comes Hyckscorner, from 'the londe of rumbelowe, thre myle out of hell,' and divers other places, but last from the sea, wherein all the good people going to Ireland were drowned, while all the bad ones in his ship, where he kept a shop of bawdry, got to England safe. Imagynacyon proposes a visit to the stews; a quarrel follows; and when Pyte comes up to stop it, they all turn on him, chain his feet, and bind his hands with a halter. Pyte then moans over the state of England, and his rymes may be quoted as a sample of the play:

We all may say wele away
For synne *that* is now-adaye ²
Loo! vertue is vanysshed for euer and aye;
Worse was hyt neuer!

We haue plente of great othes,
And clothe ynoughe in eur clothes,
But charyte many men lothes:
Worse was hyt neuer!
Alas! now is lechery called leue in dede, (B. iii.)
And murdure named manhede in euery nede;
Extersyon is called lawe, so god me spede!
Worse was hyt neuer!

¹ See p. 170, 188 of *Introduction*, and *Roxburghe Ballads*, reprint, i. 154.

² These 2 lines are one in the original.

Youth walketh by nyght with swerdes & knyues,
 And euer amonge, true men leseth theyr lyues.
 Lyke heretykes, we occupy other mennes wyues
 Now a dayes in englonde.

Baudes be *the* dystryers of many yonge women,
 And full lewde counseyll they gyue vnto them :
 How you do mary, beware you yonge men !
 The wyfe neuer taryeth to longe.

There be many grete scorners,
 But for synne there be fewe mourners ;
 We haue but fewe true louers

In no place now a dayes.
 There be many goodly gylte knyues,
 And, I trowe, as well apparaylled wyues,
 Yet many of them be vnthryfty of theyr lyues,
 And all set in pryde to go gaye.

Mayers on synne dooth no correccyon.
 With gentyll men bereth trouthe adowne ;
 Auoutry is suffred in euery towne ;
 Amendmynt is there none.
 And goddes commaundementes, we breke them all .x.
 Deuocyon is gone, many dayes syn :
 Let vs amende vs, we trewe crysten men,
 Or deth make you grone !

Courtyers go gaye, and take lytell wages,
 And many with harlottes at the tauerne hauntes ;
 They be yemen of the wrethe *that* be shakled in gyues,
 On themselfe they haue no pyte. [B iii back]
 God punyssheth full sore with grete sekenesse,
 As pockes, pestylence, purple, and axes,—
 Some dyeth sodeynly that deth full perylous,—
 Yet was there neuer so grete pouerte !

There be some sermones made by noble doctoures ;
 But truly the feude dothe stoppe mennes eres ;
 For god, nor good man, some people not feres :
 Worse was hyt neuer !
 All trouthe is not best sayd,
 And our prechers now a dayes be halfe afrayde.
 Whan we do amende, god wolde be well apayde :
 Worse was hyt neuer !

Contemplacyon and Perseuerance loose Pyte, and he starts to arrest Hyckscorner and his mates. Meantime Frewyll comes back, and relates his and Imagynacyon's thefts. Perseuerance and Contemplacyon argue with him ; and though he scorns them at first, he at last agrees to be sorry for his sins and save his soul. To them comes Imagynacyon ; and he also, after much of his chaff, is persuaded to reform, and serve Perseuerance, while Frewyll serves Contemplacyon, both converting others. Of Hyckescorner's end nothing is said.

L. *Nu Gize*, or the New Guise. This is, no doubt, the Interlude published two years before Laneham wrote, 'for the purpose of vindicating and promoting the Reformatiou.' It was reprinted in the last edition of Dodsley; and copies of the original are in the British Museum (two), Bodleian (among Malone's books), Bridgewater House, Mr. Henry Huth's library, &c. "A New Enterlude / No lesse wittie : then pleasant, entituled / new Custome, devised of late, and for diuerse / causes nowe set forthe, neuer before / this tyme Imprinted. / 1573. /

The players names in this / Enterlude be these. /

<i>The Prologue</i>	
<i>Peruerse Doctrine</i>	an olde Popishe priest.
<i>Ignoraunce</i>	an other, but elder.
<i>Newcustome</i>	a minister.
<i>Light of the gospell</i>	a minister.
<i>Hypocrisie</i>	an olde woman.
<i>Creweltie</i>	a Ruffler.
<i>Auarice</i>	a Ruffler.
<i>Edification</i>	a Sage.
<i>Assurance</i>	a Vertue.
<i>Goddess felicitie</i>	a Sage.

¶ Fower may play this Enterlude.

1 {	<i>Peruerse doctrine</i>	3 {	<i>Newe Custome.</i>
			<i>Auarice.</i>
			<i>Assurance.</i>
2 {	<i>Ignoraunce</i>		<i>Light of the Gospell.</i>
	<i>Hypocrisie</i>	4 {	<i>Creweltie.</i>
	<i>and Edification.</i>		<i>Goddess felicitie.</i>
			<i>The Prologue.</i>

[Col] "Imprinted at London in Fleetestreete by William How for Abraham Veale, dwelling in Paules church yearde at the signe of the Lambe." 4to. black letter, A, B, C, D, in fours, 16 leaves.

Perverse-Doctrine opens the play by complaining of the 'new-fangled prating elves' who 'go about, vs auncients flatly to deface;' and specially of one young preacher who 'in London not longe since' in a Sermon reviled at the holy sacrament and transubstantiation, disallowed the Popish rites, and said they were all superstition. Scene 2 brings in New-Custome lamenting the ills of his time, and contrasting them with the good old 'auncient times before'. As the writer clearly knew little of the latter, when,

. . . in comparison of this time of miserie,
In those daies men lyued in perfect felicitie;

we had better take his account of the former.

. . . this is sure, that neuer in any age before,
 Naughtines and sinne hath ben practised more, (sign B. i.)
 Or halfe so muche, or at all, in respecte, so I saye,
 As is nowe (God amende all!) at this present daye.
 Sinne nowe, no sinne; faultes, no faultes a whit.
 O God! seest thou this? and yet wylt suffer hit?
 Surely thy mercie is great; but yet our sinnes, I feare,
 Are so great, that of Justice with them thou canst not beare.
 Adulterie no vice: it is a thinge so rife;
 A stale iest nowe, to lie with an other mannes wyfe;
 For what is that but daliaunce? Couetousnesse, they call
 Good husbandrie, when one man would faine haue all.
 And eke a-like to that is vnmercifull extorcion,
 A sinne, in sight of god, of great abhominacion. (sign. B. i. back.)
 For Pride; that is now a grace! for, rounde about,
 The humble-spirited is termed a foole or a lowte.
 Who so will bee so drunken that hee scarsly knoweth his waye,
 Oh, hee is a good fellowe! so now a daies they saye.
 Gluttonie is Hospitalitie, while they meate and drinke spill
 Whiche would relieue diuerse whom famine doth kill.
 As for all charitable deedes:—they be gone, God knoweth:
 Some pretende lacke; but the chiefe cause is slownth,
 A vice most outragious of all others, sure,
 Right hatefull to God, and contrarie to nature.
 Scarse, bloud is punished, but euen for very shame;
 So make they of murder but a trifling game!
 O! how manie examples of that horrible Vice
 Do dayly among vs nowe spring and arise!
 But thanks be to God, that such rulers doth sende,
 Whiche earnestly studie that fault to amende,
 As by the sharpe punishement of that wicked crime
 Wee may see, that committed was but of late time.
 God direct their heartes, they may alwaies continue
 Suche iust execution on sinne to ensue!
 So shall be saued the life of many a man;
 And God wylt withdrawe his sore plagues from vs than.
 Theft is but pollicie, Periurie but a face:
 Suche is now the worlde! so farre men be from grace!
 But what shall I say of Religion and knowledge
 Of God, whiche hath ben indifferent in eache age
 Before this? howbeit, his faltes then it had,
 And in some poyntes then was culpable and bad?
 Surely, this one thinge I may say aright;
 God hath reiected vs away from him quight,
 And geuen vs vp whollie vnto our owne thought,
 Utterly to destroy vs, and bring vs to nought.
 For do they not followe the inuentions of men?
 Looke on the Primitiue Church, and tell mee then
 Whether they serued God in this same wise,
 Or whether they followed any other guyse?
 For since Goddes feare decayed, and Hypocrisie crept in,
 In hope of some gaines, and lucre to win,
 Crueltie bare a stroke, who with fagot and fier,
 Braught all thinges to passe that hee did desier.
 Next, Auarice spilt all; whiche, lest it should be spide,

Hypocrisie ensued, the matter to hide.
 Then brought they in their monsters, their Masses, their Light,
 Their Torches at noone, to darken our sight;
 Their Popes, and their pardones, their Purgatories for sowles;
 Their smoking of the Church, and flinging of cooles.

* * * * *
 I sayde that the Masse, and suche trumperie as that,—
 Popery, Purgatorie, pardons,—were flatt [B ij back]
 Against Goddes woorde, and Primitiue Constitution,
 Crept in through Couetousnesse and superstition,—
 Of late yeres, through Blindenes, and men of no knowledge,
 Euen suche as haue ben in every age.

Act 2 introduces Light-of-the-Gospell encouraging New-Custom; Scene 2, traitor Hypocrisie advising Perverse-Doctrine and Ignorance how to act; but when she hears that Light-of-the-Gospell has come, she swears at him; he 'will worke vs the mischiefe:'

For since these Geneuian doctours came so fast into this lande,
 Since that time it was neuer merie with Englande.
 First came Newcustome, and hee gaue the onsay;
 And sithens, thinges haue gone worse every day. [Sign C. iij.]

Scene 3 brings in Creweltie and Auarice, advising stocks, prisons, hanging, burning, as in Queen Mary's days; but as that will not do, they change their names to Justice-with-Severity, and Frugality — Perversedoctrine being Sounde-doctrine, and Ignorance, Simplicitie, to deceive men and pervert their minds. However, in Act 3, Light-of-the-Gospell converts Perversedoctrine, advises Newcustome not to take too much heed to the fashion of a garment, but to mind that 'the conscience be pure'; and Edification, Assurance, and Goddes-Felicitie, successively counsel the company.

The Captain's 'auncient playz' were the most moral books in his library.

LI. *Impacient Poverty.* In the play of "*Sir Thomas More* contained in the Harleian MS. 7368, and first printed in 1844 for the Shakespeare Society under the late Mr. Dyce's editorship, one of 'My Lord Cardinal's players' comes in, and offers to act a play—as the players afterwards did in *Hamlet*.—To More's question "I prethee, tell me, what playes haue ye?" the player answers:

Diuers, my lord: *The Cradle of Securitie*¹,
*Hit nayle o' th' head*², IMPACIENT POVERTIE,

¹ Not extant. See an account of it in *Collier's Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poet.* ii. 272 sqq.—Dyce.

² Not extant.—D.

LI. *Impacient Poverty*. LIII. *Breuiary of Health*. CXXV

*The play of Foure Pees*¹, *Dives and Lazarus*²,
*Lustie Juventus*³, and *The Marriage of Witt and Wisedome*⁴.

MOORE. *The Marriage of Witt and Wisedome!* that, my lads,
He none but that! the theam is very good.

No copy of the play is now known, but in D. E. Baker's *Biographia Dramatica* (1764, continued by Is. Reed, 1782, and edited by Stephen Jones, 1812) we find the following entry on p. 328, col. 1:—

90. A NEWE INTERLUDE OF IMPACIENTE POVERTE, newlye Imprinted M. V. L. X (We suppose 1560) 4to. This piece is in metre, and in the old black-letter; and the title-page says: "*Four Men may well and easelye playe this Interlude.*"

IV. CAPTAIN COX'S BOOK OF MEDICINE.

LIII. *Doctor Boords Breuiary of Health*. I have printed large extracts from this book, and given an account of it, of Boorde's other works, and his Life, in my edition of his *Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* 1547 or -8, and his *Dyetary* 1542, etc., for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series 1870. To this volume I refer my readers,—recommending them to read at least Boorde's comments on 7 Evils of England,—and only repeat here that the Breuiary is a brief 'alphabetical list of diseases by their Latin names, with their remedies, and the way of treating them. Other subjects are introduced, as *Mulier* a woman⁵, *Nares* nose-

¹ (4 P's) By John Heywood. Reprinted in Dodsley's *Old Plays*, vol. i.—D.

² Not extant. It was written by a player, if we may trust to a passage in Greene's *Greatsworth of Wit*; see Collier's *Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poet.* ii. 272.

³ By R. Wever (for I cannot think with Mr. Collier—*Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poet.* ii. 317—that there is any reason for doubting that Wever was its author.) Reprinted in Hawkins's *Origin of the English Drama*, vol. i.

⁴ "The Contract [? MS.] of a Marige betweene wit and wisdome, very frutefull, and mixed full of pleasant mirth, as well for the beholders as the readers or hearers: never before imprinted . . . 1579." *Additional MS* 26,782 in the British Museum. This title is either copied from a printed edition or from a copy prepared for press. No early printed edition is known. Mr. Halliwell edited this Interlude for the Shakespeare Society in 1846. The Play acted in *Sir Thomas More* as *The Marriage* is 'nothing more than a portion of *Lusty Juventus*, with alterations and a few additions.'—Dyce, *Sir Thomas More*, p. 61.

⁵ Furthermore now why a woman is named a woman, I wyll shewe my mynde. *Homo* is the latin worde, and in Englyshe it is as wel for a woman as for a man; for a woman, the silables conuerted, is no more to say as a man in wo; and set wo before man, and then it is woman; and wel she may be named a woman, for as muche as she doth bere chyldren with wo and peyne; and also she is subiect to man, except it he there where the white mare is the better horse; therefore *Vt homo non cantet cum cuculo*, let euery man please his wyfe in all matters, and displease her not, but let her hane her owne wyl, for that she wyll haue, who so euer say nay. (Fol. lxxxii. sign L. ii., back.)

thrilles, &c.' The *Breuiary* was written by Boorde by the year 1542, though it was not publisht till 1547,—with its 2nd part, the *Extravagantes*,—having been 'examined in Oxford in June' 1546¹. Boorde intended it as a companion to his *Dyetary*:

"I wolde that euery man hauyngē this boke, shulde haue the sayd *Dyetary of Health* with this boke, considering that the one booke is concurrant with the other."

His own account of the *Breuiary*, in his Preface to it is as follows:

"Gentyll readers, I haue taken some peyne in makyng this boke, to do sycke men pleasure and whole men profyte, that sycke men may recuperate theyr health, and whole men may preserue theym selfe frome syckenes (with goddes helpe) as well in Phisicke as in Chierurgy. But for as much as olde, auneynt, and autentyke auctours or doctours of Physicke, in their bokes doth wryte many obscure termes, geuyng also to many and dyuerse infirmities, darke and harde names, dyffycyle to vnderstande, some and mooste of all beyng Greeke wordes, some and fewe beyng Araby wordes, some beyng Latyn wordes, and some beyng Barbarus wordes. Therefore I haue translated all suche obscure wordes and names into Englyshe, that euery man openlye and apartylye maye vnderstande them. Furthermore, all the aforesayde names of the sayde infirmites be set together in order, accordyng to this letters of the Alphabet, or the .A. B. C. So that as many names as doth begyn with A. he set together, and so forth, all other letters as they be in order. Also there is no sickenes in man or woman, the whiche maye be frome the crowne of the head to the sole of the fote, but you shall fynde it in this booke, as well the syckenesses the which doth parteyne to Chierurgy as to phisicke, and what the sickenes is, and howe it doth come, and medecynes for the selfe same. And for as much as euery man now a dayes is desyrou to rede hriefe and compendious matters. I therefore in this matter pretende to satisfye mens myndes as much as I can, namyng this booke accordyng to the matter, which is. The Breuiary of health." (Fol. v., sign A. v.)

V. CAPTAIN COX'S BALLADS.

We now come to the Captain's "bunch of ballets & songs, all auneynt"; but unluckily Laneham didn't care so much for our old English ditties as he did for our story-books and poems, and has therefore stinted us to seven names of ballads, and that disappointing "a hundred more." What possesst the man to care more for the songs that showed off his "Spanish sospires, his French heighes, his Italian dulcets, his Dutch hovez, his doubl releas, his hy reachez, his fine feyning, his deep diapason, his wanton warblz, his running, his tyming, his tuning, & his twynkling," than for our merry old greenwood songs? Let's all

¹ Lowndes says that it was reprinted in 1548, 1552, 1577, etc. I have not been able to see the 1547 and 1548 editions, but of the 1552 one, and the next, I have titleless copies.

vote him a noodle for this; though no doubt the "Gentlwemen" of his time liked the sentimental ballads best, as they generally do now. So we must forgive the ladies, and turn to the seven ballads that Laneham does name. Of them, only four have been identified; and as the first and last are partly given, with nine others (perhaps 9 of Captain Cox's 'hundred more') in a play of the period, we may as well make an extract from that first. The play is "A very mery and Pythie Commedie, called *The longer thou liuest, the more foole thou art*. A Myrrour very necessarie for youth, and specially for such as are like to come to dignitie and promotion: As it maye well appeare in the Matter folowyng. Newly compiled by VV. VVager [Woodcut] ¶ Imprinted at London by Wyllyam HoW for Richarde Johnes: and are to be solde at his shop vnder the Lotterie house" [ab. 1568, says Mr. Hazlitt's *Handbook*]. (A B C D E F G in fours, but G iij signed A iij; leaf iij of D E F signed, but not that of A B C. British Museum Press-mark, C. 34. e. 37.)

After 'the Prologe,' [A 3] '¶ Here entreth *Moros*, counterfaiting a vaine gesture and a foolish countenance, Synging the foote of many Souges, as fooles were wont

Moros. BRome, Brome on hill,
The gentle Brome on hill hill:
Brome, Brome on Hiue hill,
The gentle Brome on Hiue hill,
The Brome standes on Hiue hill a.
¶ Robin, lende to me thy Bowe, thy
Bowe,
Robin the bow, Robin lende to me thy
bow a:
¶ There was a Mayde come out of
Kent,
Deintie loue, deintie loue.
There was a mayde cam out of Kent,
Daungerous be:
There was a mayde cam out of Kent,
Fayre, propre, small and gent,

As euer vpon the grounde went,
For so should it be.
¶ By a banke as I lay, I lay,
Musinge on things past, hey how.
¶ Tom a lin and his wife, and his
wiues mother,
They went ouer a bridge all three to-
gether;
The bridge was broken, and they fell
in:
"The Deuil go with all!" quoth Tom
a lin.
¶ Martin swart and his man, sodle-
dum, sodledum.
Martin swart and his man, sodledum
bell¹.

¹ Skelton, laureat, (who died in 1529) has an evident allusion to the same song:

"With hey trolly lo, whip here Jak.
Alumbek sodyldym syllorym *ben*,
Curiously he can both counter and knak
Of *Martyn Swart* and all hys mery men."
(Against a comely Coystrowne, etc., *Works* (1736), p. 254.)

Martin Swart was concerned in the insurrection made by the lord Lovel and others against Henry VII, anno 1486, and was slain at the battle of Stoke;

(Com ouer the Boorne, Besse,
My little pretie Besse,
Com ouer the Boorne, besse, to me¹.
(The white Doue sat on the Castell
wall,
I bend my Bow, and shoote her I
shall,
I put hir in my Gloue, both fethers
and all.
I layd my Bridle upon the shelve;
If you will any more, sing it your
selfe.
Discipline. O Lorde, are you not
ashamed,
Thus vainly the time to spende. . .

Moros. I haue Twentie mo songs
yet,— [A 3 back]
A fond woman to² my Mother,
As I war wont in her lappe to sit,
She taught me these and many other:
I can sing "a song of Robin Redbreast,
And my litle pretie Nightingale;"³
"There dwelleth a iolly Foster hers
by west;"
Also, "I com to drink som of your
Christmas ale."
Whan I walke hy my selfe alone,
It doth me good my songs to render.
Such pretie thinges would soone be
gon,
If I should not sometime them re-
member.

LIII. *Broom, Broom on Hil.* This ballad is in the list of the
Complaynt of Scotland, some 27 years before Laneham⁴, but is now

having been sent over with some troops, by Margaret, duchess of Burgundy,
sister to K. Edward IV. *Ritson's Ancient Songs*, vol. i. p. lxxxiv, note, ed. 1829.
See also Dyce's notes in his *Skelton's Works*, ii. 93-4.

¹ Shakspeare has put these three identical lines into the mouth of Edgar in
K. Lear. A moralization of the song is (with the music) in the editor's folio
MS. [Brit. Mus. Additional MS. 5665. See notes to Forewords.] *Ritson, ib.*
p. lxxxv, note.

² I had to, was.

³ [Appendix to the Royal MSS 58, leaf 7 bk. See also leaf 6, back.] .

The lytyll prety nyghtync gale
a-monge the leuys grene,—
I wolde I were* wyth hure all nyght!
but yet ye wote not whome I mene.
The nyghtynge gale sat onc a brere,
Amonge the thornys scherpe & keyne,
and comfort me wyth mery chere:
but yet ye wot not home I mene.
She dyd apere all on hure kynde
a lady ryght well be-seynge,
with wordys of loff tolde me hure mynde:
but yet ye wote not whome I mene.
hyt dyd me goode a-pone hure to loke;
hure corse was cloyd all in grene;
away fro me hure hert she toke;
but yet ye wot not whome I mene.
"lady," I cryed wyth rufull mone,
"haue mynd of me that true hath bene,
for I loue none but you alone:"
but yet ye wot not whome I mene.

⁴ See below, p. cliii. (62).

* MS. I wolde I were, I wolde I were. The final ll of the MS has always
a line over it.

lost. Mr. Wm. Chappell in his *Popular Music* ii. 458-461 gives an account of the English ballad and tune of *The broom of Cowdon Knowes*, and others connected with it. Its burden is

With O the broom, the bonny broom, | Fain would I be in the North Country,
The broom of Cowdon Knowes; | To milk my daddies ewes.

But this is not to be identified with Laneham's ballad, the only one approaching to which is contained in the lines above, p. cxxvii, sung by Moros, in Wager's interlude, "which appears," says Mr. Chappell, "to have been written soon after Elizabeth came to the throne . . .

Brome brome on hill, | Brome, brome on Hive hill,
The gentle brome on hill, hill: | The brome stands on Hive hill-a.'

Mr. Chappell quotes the passage, and then observes "This repetition does not give the metre or the correct words of the song" meaning, of course, the later song known to us. "The tune, or upper part, was to be sung by one person, while others sang a foot, or burden, to make harmony."

"The ballad of *Brome on hill* in Mr. Gutch's *Robin Hood* ii. 363 is a modern fabrication." The earliest ballad of the kind preserved, is described by Mr. Chappell as a black-letter one in the Pepys Collection, i. 40, entitled *The new Broome*, London, printed for F. Coles—whose date is from 1646 to 1674—and consisting of 7 stanzas with the following burden:

The bonny broome, the well favour'd broome,
The broome blooms faire on hill;
What ail'd my love to lightly mee,
And I working her will?

LIV. *So wo [= well] iz me begon, Troly lo.* This song in praise of Serving-Men, Ritson printed in his *Ancient Songs from the Time of King Henry the Third to the Revolution*, 1790, p. 92, from the Sloane MS 1584, 'a small book, partly paper, partly parchment, chiefly written by "Johanues Gysborn, Canonicus de Couerham," whose manual or pocket book it seems to have been¹, tempore

¹ The book is an odd mixture of recipes, hymns, songs, a tract (imperfect) on a priest's duties, questions to be put at the confessional, etc. etc. From the latter, take

Questions for a woman. (Leaf 8.)

HAue ye maid youe more gayer in Reyment off kercheus one your hed, for plesur of y^e world, ore off the pepull, ony tyme more thene other? haue youe obeyd your husband at alle tymes, os ye are bownd? haue youe wesched your face with any styllid waters ore oyntementes to make youe fayrer in the

Hen. 8.' The song is on the back of leaf 45; betwen the recipe for 'a souerayne laxatyffe' and a Sermon for Easter-day.

So well ys me be-gone, trolly loly!
so well ys me be-gone, trolly loly¹.

Off *seruyng*² men I wyll begyne, Trolly, loly,
 for they goo mynyon trym; Trolly loly.
 Off mett & drynk & feyr clothyng, Trolly loly.
 by dere god, I want none . Trolly, loly
 His honet is of fyne scarlett . Trolly loly,
 With here as black os geitt . Trolly³ lolye.
 His dublett ys of fyne satyne . Trolly lolye
 Hys shertt well mayd, & tryme⁴; Trolly, lolye.
 Hys coytt itt is so tryme & rownde; Trolly, lolye.
 His kysse is worth A *hundred pound*⁵. Trolly, lolye
 His hoysse of london black . Trolly lolye
 In hyme ther ys no lack . Trolly lolye.
 His face yt ys so lyk a man . Trolly, lolye.
 Who cane butt loue hyme than? Trolly, lolye.
 Wher so euer he bee, he hath my hert . Trolly lolye.
 And shall to deth de part⁶ . Trolly lolye.
 So well ys me be-gone . trolly, loly.
 S[*o*] well ys me be gone . Trolly, lolye.

syght off pepull? haue youe schewyd your brestes open to tempt any to syne? haue youe had any enuy agayns any womane, that sche has bene fayrer then youe, or better louyd then youe? haue ye synnyd in lechere with any mane be-syd your husband? haue ye synnyd with your husband when ys haue ben in childbed? haue ye ouer-lyne your chyld, ore peryschyd itt att any tyme? haue youe gyffune any drynke vnto your husband to make hyme lystear to occupye with youe? haue youe drunkune any contagius drynke to dystrowe your chyld, other weddyd ore syngull? haue youe bene mystempeyrd with ale att any tyme? haue ye sworne with any womane in any purgacion apon a boke, & has for-sworne youe wyllyngly? haue ye consentyd vnto any bawdry for [*leaf* 9] lukar off money, and keppyd ther counselle? haue ye bakhytyd ore slaunderd any man or woman, & browght them in a nyll name? haue youe maid any soleme vowe of fast ore pylgrimage? haue youe payd your tythes & offerynges onto the chirche? haue youe done your pennans that ye haue bene Inneyd [?] be-fore tyme."

All the final *d*'s have a curly tail which may mean *e*. I have long intended to print one or two of these early Confessional treatises, as a help to enable us to understand the practical working of the Romish system in English homes.

¹ Compare, in *Hyekecorner*, sign. C. i.

Now wyll I syng, and lustely sprynge;
 But whan my fetters on my leges dyde rynge,
 I was not glade, perde! but now, hey trolly lolly!

And William Cornyshe's song facsimiled in Mr. Wm. Chappell's paper in *Archæologia*, xli. 372, one of a hundred specimens of a 'Trolly Lolly':—

Trolly lolly, lo! syng trolly loly!
 my loue is to the grene wode gone;
 now after her will I go!
syng trolly lolly, lo trolly lolly!

² *suynge*, *Ritson*.

⁵ *C¹*, *orig.*

³ *Torly*, *orig.*

⁶ ? do part, or *departe*, divide us.

⁴ *fyne*, *Ritson*.

LV. *Ouer a whinny, Meg.* Not known now.

LVI. *Hey ding a ding.* This is the burden of the famous old ballad "Old Simon the King," and that was possibly the ballad which Captain Cox possesseth. It is printed in *Durfey's Pills to purge Melancholy*, 1719, iii. 143, and in the *Percy Folio Loose Songs*, p. 124, from which, as it gives the burden 'for the first time complete,' I reprint the first verse of the ballad below. The two tunes to which the ballad was sung, with a text of the ballad, and much interesting information about it, are given by Mr. Wm. Chappell in his *Popular Music* i. 262-269, and he has further notes on it in his vol. ii. p. 776, 792, 796.

In an humor I was of late,
as many good fellowes bee,
that thinke of no matter of state,
but thé keepe merry Companye :
that best might please my mind,
soe I waket vp & downe the towne ;
but company none cold I find
till I came to the signe of the crowne.
mine oster was sicke of the mumpes,
her mayd was fisle¹ att ease,

mine host lay drunke in his dumpes :
"they all had but one disease,"
sayes old simon the King, sayes old
Simon the King,
with his ale-dropt hose, & his malmesye
nose,
with a hey ding, ding a ding, ding,
with a hey [ding, ding a ding, ding,]
with a hey ding [ding], quoth Simon
the king².

LVII. *Bony lass vpon a green*

LVIII. *My bony on gauē me a bek*

} not known now.

LIX. *By a bank as I lay.* This exists in a MS, one of the Appendix of Royal MSS, No. 58, leaf 8, back.

[BY A BANCKE AS I LAY.]

By a bancke as I lay
musynge my selfe A-lone—hey how !
A byrdys voyce
dyd me Reioyce,
syngynge by-fore the day ;
And my-thought in hure lay
she sayd wynter was past—hey
how !
Dan dyry, cum den, dan dyry,
cum dyry, cum dyry, ³cum dyry,
cum dyry, cum dan ! hey how !

The master of musyke,
the lusty nyghtyngale—hey how !

fulle meryly
& secretly
She syngyth in the thyke,
And vnder hure brest a pryke,
to kepe hure fro slepe—Hey how,
Dan [&c]

A-wake, there-for, younge men,
Alle ye that louers be—hey how !
thus⁴ monyth of may,
soo fresh, soo gay,
So fayre be feld on⁵ fen,
hath floryshe ylke a den ;
grete Ioy hyt is to see,—hey how !
&c.

Dr. Rimbault printed this ballad in his *Little Book of Songs and Ballads* 1851, p. 53-4, with *few* and *adew* (like Mr. Collier⁶)

¹ ? breaking wind.

² The line is nearly all pared away.

³ leaf 9.

⁴ read 'this.'

⁵ read 'and.'

⁶ *Stat. Reg.* i. 193-4. See my *Andrew Boorde*, p. 71, note ⁴.

for *fen* and a *den*,—and added on p. 55–6 a differing later copy, naming ‘noble James our king,’ from *Deuteromelia, or the Second Part of Musick's Melodie, or Melodius Musicke of Pleasant Roundelaies*, etc., 1609. Its second line is “musing on a thing that was past and gone,” which, the Doctor notes, is nearer to Wager’s “Musinge on things past, hey how,” than the 2nd line of the Royal MS. copy. Dr. Rimbault also says “At the end of the only copy known to exist of a Collection of Secular Songs, printed in 1530, a Song is inserted in MS. beginning with the same words [as Wager’s?], but containing a laboured panegyric upon Henry the Eighth. The Editor has not seen this copy.”

Mr. Chappell gives the tune, and an account, of this song at p. 92–3 of his *Popular Music*, vol. i.; and at p. 52 quotes from the Life of Sir Peter Carew, by John Vowell, alias Hoker, of Exeter, (*Archæologia*, vol. 28) “the king himself [Henry VIII] being much delighted to sing, and Sir Peter Carew having a pleasant voice, the king would often use him to sing with him certain songs they call ‘Freemen Songs,’ as namely, ‘By the bancke as I lay,’ and ‘As I walked the wode so wyld,’” &c.

“And a hundred more,” says Laneham. Oh that we had their names!

CAPTAIN COX'S ALMANACKS.

We now come to the last section of Captain Cox's books, his Almanacks. Prof. De Morgan would be the right man¹ to give us an account of these. I can only offer a list of those by the Captain's three authors that have come under my notice, adding two of Dade's, because he is mentioned in “The Kinge enjoyes his rights againe” in the *Percy Folio Ballads* ii. 2519. We'll take those in Bagford's list first, because he mentions among them an unknown Caxton, though Mr. Wm. Blades judges this “all fudge!”:

Bagford's Collections. Harl. MS. 5937, leaf 8².

“A Catalouge of Almonickes sence y^e first printing of them.
and y^e first I haue met with is y^e prodnostication of Mr. Jasper

¹ He is gone, alas, with all his weight of learning, and all his fun, since the proof of this went back for revise.

² On another leaf Bagford queries when the first edition of the *Book of Knowledge* (Andrew Boorde's) was publisht. In 1547–8, no doubt. See my reprint, E. E. T. Soc. 1870.

Leate of Antwarpe, and translated out of Lattin into English; and printed in 4^o, by will Caxton 1493¹

“The grate & true prodnostication with a Almonicke composed by Mr. John Leat of Barthlom, Dr. Medicyne and Astro[no]me, preceptor and Rector of y^e Scoold of Antwarpe, in 8 1521
 in 4^o 1535
 8- 1539
 8- 1541”

There is however a bit of an earlier almanac by Jasper Laet de Borchloen in the fragments in the Lambeth Library, namely for the year 1510, which is described by Maitland in his *Early Printed Books at Lambeth*, p. 264².

Among Bagford's titlepages and fragments are the following by the Laets :

Harl. MS. 5937, leaf 18, N^o 58. (A.D. 1516.)

¶ The pronosticacion of maister Jaspas late, of borchloon / doctour in astrologie, of the yere . M. CCCC. xvi. trans/lated in/to ynglissch, to the honorre of te [so] moost noble & vic/torious kynge Henry the .vij. by your moost humble sub-/iect, Nicholas longwater, goeuerner of our lady conception / in y^e renommed towne of Andwarp, in sinte Iorge perys / (6 lines at the top of 1 leaf full of printing.)

Harl. 5937 leaf 11, N^o 26 (A.D. 1523)

A pronosticacyon / of Master Iasper Laet de / borchloen Doctor in medycy/ne for y^e yere of our lorde god / M. v. C. & .xxiii. / ¶ Cum gracia et prinilegio. / ¶ Iaspas Laet. (Over a cut, and with elaborate borders. 2 leaves)

Ib. N^o 33, lf. 12 bk and 13. (A full sheet & complete Almanack, A.D. 1530. The headline is:) “¶ Almynack and Pronostication of the yere of oure lord M, LLLLL, and , xxx,” And at foot is: “Gaspar Laet The yonger, Doctor yn Phy[syk]. Emprinted at Antwerpe by me Cristofel of Ruremunde.”

MS. Harl. 5937, lf. 16, N^o 51 (A.D. 1533)

The pronosticaci[on] / [calcu]led by mayster Iaspas Lae[t of] / Andwarpe / vpon the merydiau / of the sayd towne, for the / yere of our lorde god . / M. D. xxxij. (over a cut of an astronomer, with a quadrant, looking at 6 stars and a comet: at back is)

¹ Mr. Hazlitt enters, in his *Handbook* p. 484, col. 1, No. 4, a ‘Prognostication by Gaspar late, of Antwerpe, . . . for the yere, M. CCCCXXX. IIII; but he must have left out a C, and meant 1534: compare the 1533 title below.

² Maitland also refers to two Prognostications by James Laet, in *Panzer*, II. 346, No. 711. I cannot find any life of the Laets.

Bicause that .xliiij [yeres] past my father mayster Iasp[ar] Laet, and .xx. yere before hym, his father mays[ter] Iohn laet (Whome Iesu pardon), bothe astro[no]mers, hath yerely, vnto the profyete of the comyn [welthe calcu]late and put forth certayn pronosty-cacions . . . wherfore I have proposed . . . to furnyssh the same, after the noble and true sci[ence] of Astro[nomy]

Harl. 5937, lf. 16, N^o 50. (A.D. 1541)

¶ Pronostica-/cion of the yere / of our Lorde / M, v^c, xli, /
 ¶ Practysed by the re/nowned doctor in / Astronomy and /
 Physicke / Jasp[ar] Laet /. (On the back is:) "For as much as I
 haue taken vpon me yearly to shewe the influences with their
 operations here beneth vpon earth, and that, folowynge alwaye, for
 the most parte, Ptolome in his seconde boke Apotelesmaton, as one
 that is best alowed of experte Astronomers, notwithstandinge
 that he is very brefe and harde in his wrytynge: Therefore shall I
 fy[r]ste brefely recyte the princypall fundamentes of our present
 Pronostication, leste it shulde be supposed she were pronosticated
 vaynly and without fundament.

"The fyrst fundament shalbe the Eclipse of the Sonne of the
 yeare of .xxxix. last past, the xviii. day of Apryll, at .iii. of the
 clocke at after noone, which was of the greatnesse of .ix. poyntes,
 which Eclipse shall yet geue influence very strongly, by reason
 of his distaunce from the orientall corner (for it befell in the
 .viii. degre of Taurus, in the .viii. house), and also because the
 same eclipse dyd last nerehande .ii. houres, as we dyd shewe at
 length at that tyme.

"The secounde fundament is & shalbe the Eclipse of the Sonne
 of the yeare of .xl. last." (2 leaves. *I don't print the second.*)

leaf 18 back, no. 62 (A.D. 1542?)

✠ An Alm[a] / nacke & P[ro]-/nostication of the ren[ow-] / med
 doctor in Astrou[omye] / Iasper Laet the yere of [our] Lord God.
 .M. ccccc [xl.] / and the declaration of th[e] / signes and theyr
 qualit[es] / with the son rysynge / ¶ Imprinted in Lon[don] /
 by Iohn Waley (2 leaves)

leaf 15 back. (under Borde's *Pronosticacyon* of 1545¹) N^o 47

(A.D. 1543)

Almauack / and Pronostica-/tion of Jasp[ar] Laet. / Of the
 yare, of our / Lord God. M. D. / XLIII. / ¶ In this Almanacke
 ye / shall fynde, all the Epystles and Gos-/pels of euery Sondaye
 and holy daye. (2 leaves)

¹ One leaf, printed in my *Borde*, p. 25.

A.D. 1544

N^o 48 Pronostication of Ja[spar] / Laet doctor of Phisicke and Astro[nomer] / for the yere of our Lorde God / M. v^c. xliiij.

A.D. 1550.

A Pronostication for the year of oure Lorde M. CCCCC. L, calculated for the Meridian of Antwerp, &c. by Jasper Late, W. H. Octavo (*Herbert's Ames*, 1786, i. 584.)

We now come "unto Nostradam of Frauns," for printing whose Almanacs there is a regular shoal of licences and fines in the Stationers' Register A. Bagford's first title is that of the Almanac of 1566:

Harl. MS. 5937, leaf 14.

An Almanicke made by the Noble and worthy Clarke, Michaell Nostra[da]mes D^r in phisick: Imprinted at London by Jo. Kingston 1559

Id. an outhor of y^e same Nostridames, Imprinted by will: Copland for Nicolas England 1559

Harl. 5937, lf. 25, N^o 120

"An Almanacke / and prodigious premonstrati-/on, made for the yere of / grace. 1566. By / Mi. Nostradamus, / § * § /

The God which eche mans visage well doth see,
His temple gates to come for to vnbarre :
And Pandores boxe vncouered shall bee,
A great thicke cloude for to dissolue from farre.

[over a woodcut of a globe in a frame, with the legend 'Admirandus Altissimus.']

(Imprinted at London by Henry Denham." (Title only)

but the Stationers' Register A begins in 1558 with

Luke Haryson Lucke Haryson ys lycensed to prynte the pronostication of m^r nostradamus and also his almanack for the same yere . viijd.

and in the year 1558-9

William Copland, for pryntinge of a pronostication of nosterdamus with-oute lycense, and for mysbehavyng hym selfe before the master and wardyns, was fyned at iij. s. iijd.

Mr. Halliwell says "Dibdin (N^o 2733) mentions an "Almanacke for the yere 1559 composed by Mayster Mych. Nostradamus," 8vo. In the Stationers' Register A, leaf 85, we have

m^r Wally Recevyd of m^r wallye for his lycense for pryntinge of an almanacke & pronostication of nostradamus for this yere aⁿ 1562 viijd

Of the Almanacs of "our John Securiz of Salisbury" we find these entries in the Stationers' Register A:

(leaf 72 back, A.D. 1561-2.)

J. Wally } of master Wally for his lycense for pryntinge of an almanacks
of John securys } iiijd

m^r Wally } Recevyd of m^r wallye, for his lycense for pryntinge of an almanacke & pronostication of m^r John Securys for the yere of our lorde god 1563 viijd. (MS. lf. 85)

(MS, lf. 134 back.)

T marshe / Recevyd of Thomas marshe, for his lycense for pryntinge }
of an almanacke & pronostication of m^r John Securis for } viijd
a^o 1566 / }

Mr. Halliwell says 'In the Bodleian Library is preserved "A newe Almanacke for the yere of our Lord God, 1567, practised in Salisburie by Maister John Securis, Phisitian."' I can find no life or notice of Securis.

Bagford has also a leaf of an almanac by Securis, A.D. 1573, Harl. MS 5937, lf. 25.

No. 123 (John Securis A.D. 1573)

"¶ A Prognos-/tication made for the / yeare of our Lord God, / 1573. / ¶ Practised in Salisburie, by Iohn / Securis Maister of Art and / Phisicke / Anno Mundi 5535 / (over a cut of a warrior (?) on a 4-wheeled chariot drawn by 2 horses)

¶ Imprinted at London, by Richard / VVatkins, & Iames Roberts / Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis."

Lastly, we note the bits of Dade's Almanacs in Bagford's collection in Harl. MS. 5937, for the reason given on p. cxxxii.

"No. 125. Dade. / A prognostication / in which you may be/holde the state of this / present yeere of our / Lord God, M. DC. / Made and set fourth by / Iohn Dade Gent. prac/titioner in Phisicke. / Imprinted at London for Ed/ward White, the assigne of / Iames Roberts.

"No. 126. Dade. 1600. / An Almanacke and / Prognostication in which / you may behold the state of / this yeere of our Lord God / 1600. / Beeing leape yeere. / Made and set fourth by Iohn / Dade Gent. practitioner in / Phisicke. / Imprinted at London by / Richard VVatkins and / Iames Robertes / Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis. /" (Both in Harl. 59397, leaf 25 back.)

On leaf 7 back, Bagford also notes

"An Almanicke and prognosticacion in which you may behould y^e State of y^e Yeare of our L^d god 1599: made and set ffourth: by Jo: Dade Gent

praktiser in phisicke, and Imprinted by Rich. Watkins & James Roberts
in 8. 1599
Id. on in 12 by y^e same Dade, and Imprinted at London by Assignes of
James Robertes. 1602

That a so-called Dade's Almanack was publisht so late as 1694, for the year 1695, see Harl. 5937, leaf 64, No. 338.

My reason for giving a sketch of all Captain Cox's books, and printing all his ballads, that I could get at, was, that my readers might contrast the literature of the reading unpious middle-class man of Elizabeth's pre-Shakspearean time¹, with that of the same kind of man now, and also think whence Spenser, Shakspeare, Bacon, Milton, sprang, and what we owe to them. And surely, no member of the Tory Party even, can want 'the good old times' of literature before 1575, back again in our Victorian age, far as we are from what we ought now to be. But still, don't let us misjudge the said old times; neither wholly, nor mainly, was their sky filled with cumuli of silliness, or dark storm-clouds of coarseness; the sun of manliness was plainly seen, and rays of love, of friendly truth, and honest mirth, cheered the beholder's heart.

We now turn to compare the Englishman's list by Laneham, with the Scotchman's list in the *Complaynt of Scotland*; but must recollect that we are putting the Tradesman who has made his own way in the world, beside the Scholar, one who, though he has his affectations as well as Laneham, is a far more cultured man, and writes with a far higher purpose. He is a Reformer, part of the salt of the earth. To his more serious ends his book was at first wholly devoted; but happily he determined to hand down to the aftertime an account of his coutrymen's lighter readings and sports,—the books, songs, tunes, and dances, that cheered the hard life of Scotland in the middle of the sixteenth century². He accordingly, as Mr. James A. H. Murray will show in his edition of the *Complaynt* for the Extra Series of the Early English Text Society 1872 or 1873,—inserted into his book, after the

¹ He most probably couldn't read Chaucer, as his modern representative can't, though I hope our Societies are helping to alter that.

² That it was hard,—yes, very hard,—see my Preface to *Lauder's Minor Poems*, E. E. Text Soc. 1870.

sheets were printed, some pages on different paper, of which the part that concerns us now is as follows :

"I thynk it best that ve recreat our selfis vytht ioyus comonyng quhil on to the tyme that ve return to the scheip fald vytht our flokkis. And to begyn sic recreatiōne, i thynk it best that euyrie ane of vs tel ane gude tayl or fabil, to pas the tyme quhile enyn. Al the scheiphirdis, ther vyuis and saruandis, var glaid of this propositione. than the eldest scheiphird began, and al the laif fol-louit, ane be ane in ther auen place. it vil be ouer prolix, and no les tidens, to reherse them agane vord be vord. bot i sal reherse sum of ther namys that i herd. sum vas in prose, & sum vas in verse: sum var storeis, and sum var flet taylis. Thir var the namis of them as efter follouis.

(1) The taylis of cautirberrye.

[By Geoffrey Chaucer. Editions before 1548: by Caxton, about 1478, from a bad MS, and ab. 1484 from a better MS.; by Pynson about 1493 and (with the Boke of Fame, and Troylus,) in 1526; by Wynkyn de Worde in 1498; in *The Workes* (ed. Wm. Thynne), by Thomas Godfray in 1532; and by John Reynes or Wyllyam Bonham in 1542, the *Plowman's Tale* being *after* the Parson's. The 3rd ed. of the *Works* is about 1550, says Mr. Bradshaw, by the Booksellers—Wm. Bonham, R. Kele, Petit, or Toy—and the *Plowman's Tale* is *before* the Parson's.]

(2) Robert le dyabil, duc of Normandie.

[The prose *Life* (from the French *Romant de Robert le diable*) was twice printed by Wynkyn de Worde without date: 'the lyfe of the moost feerfullest and vnmercyfullest and myscheuous Robert y^e deuyll, whiche was afterwarde called the seruant of our lorde Jhesu cryste.' A copy of one edition is in the British Museum, C. 21. c.; and another is in the Cambr. Univ. Library. Mr. Thoms reprinted this in vol. i. of his *Early Popular Romances*, 1828, and says it is taken direct from the French, and is not a reduction of the English verse text.

Of the verse *Life*, which, says Mr. Hazlitt, 'follows in general the prose narrative, but exhibits occasional amplifications,' 'a fragment printed with the types of Wynken de Worde or Pynson is in the Bodleian Library.' The verse romance was reprinted for J. Herbert in 1798, 8vo, from a MS "which appears to have been transcribed word for word" (*Thoms*) from the old printed edition, and has been again reprinted in Mr. Hazlitt's *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, i. 217-263: see also p. 264-9. As the verse text tells the same story as the prose one, I use it for the following sketch.

A good Duke of Normandy, to please his lords, weds the daughter of the Earl of Burgundy, but for 12 years has no child by her. For this they grieve greatly, and often pray for a child. At last the Duchess becomes convinced that God will not hear their petition, and so, on the night that she conceives, she prays to the Devil to send them a child, and vows she will give it, soul and body, to the Devil. Accordingly, a boy is born, and a terrible storm follows. The boy is very big; his teeth grow fast, and he bites his nurse's nipples off. He grows; bites other children, puts their eyes out, breaks their legs and arms; they call him "Roberte the Deuylle." At seven years old, he thrusts a dagger into his teacher's belly, for correcting him; he mocks priests, scorns clerks, and hurts men

at their prayers. When he is older, his Father makes him a knight, that his vows may improve him; but he grows worse; at jousts, he kills knights, breaks horses' backs, and strikes down old and young. Then he makes a raid into the country, robs and kills, ravishes maidens and wives, pulls down abbeys, slays young children. His father sends men to take him; he puts out their eyes. When more men are sent, he gathers a band of thieves, kills men, spoils crops, eats flesh on Fridays, and cuts off 7 Hermits' heads. Wherever he goes, all people flee from him. This, at last, makes him repent; he begs his fleeing mother to stay, to tell him how he was born; and then he vows that he'll amend and go to Rome. He returns to his band of thieves, and exhorts them to repent too; but they mock him and refuse; so he kills them every one. Then he rides to an Abbey, prays for God's forgiveness, and sends the key of his treasure to his father, to make restitution for his robberies and sins. He then goes to Rome, prays the Pope's pardon, and confesses his sins to him. The Pope sends Robert to a hermit near, who has a revelation that Robert must counterfeit a fool, act like one, pull his food from a dog, sleep with dogs, and be dumb. All this, Robert does; acts the fool at the Emperor of Rome's court, gnaws one end of a bone while a dog gnaws the other, shares a loaf with the dog, and sleeps on straw with it. But soon the Seneschall of the Saracens invades Rome to win the Emperor's deaf and dumb daughter. The infidels are winning, when an Angel gives Robert a white steed and armour, and he soon routs the Saracens. He rides off, and his horse and armour vanish. All this, the Princess sees. Robert comes again as a fool to the Court; and when the Emperor asks who the White Knight is, the Princess always points to the Fool, for which her father abuses her. Again the Saracens invade Rome, and again Robert, armed by the Angel, routs the foe and disappears. On the second day of the fight, 6 knights sent by the Emperor, try to discover Robert, and one wounds him in the thigh. The Emperor thereupon promises his daughter to the wounded knight. On this, the Saracen Seneschall wounds himself, personates Robert, claims the Princess, and is about to wed her, when she, by miracle, speaks, and exposes him. Robert is then found among the dogs, and will not speak till the Hermit tells him his sins are forgiven. He then weds the Princess, comes to Normandy, and is loved. The Seneschall invades and slays the Emperor, for which Robert kills him; and then comes home again, fears God, has a son (who is one of Charlemagne's knights), dies, and goes to heaven.

Nowe, all men beare these in remembrance :

‘He that lyueth well here, no euyl death shall dye.’

Yonge and olde, that delyteth to reade in storye,

Yt shall youe styrre to uertuous luyunge,

And cause some to haue theyr memorye

Of the paynes of hell, that ys euer durynge.

By readynge bookes, men knowe all thyng

That euer was done, and hereafter shalbe.

Idlenes, to myschief many a one doth brynge. . .

The original of Robert the Devil was Robert, father of William the Conqueror, and sixth Duke of Normandy. Part of the legends about him have been transferred to a different person, Robert, King of Sicily (and Jerusalem,) Duke of Apulia etc., who tried to make peace between Edward III and the French king, and whom Froissart and others tell us of. The Romance of Sir Gowghter in the Royal MS 17, printed by Utterson in his *Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry*, 1817, 8vo, vol. i, is in character ‘substantially identical with *Robert the Devil*, the names,

localities, and other adventitious features only being changed.' 'Sir Frederic Madden pointed out, in his edition of the *Old English versions of the Gesta Romanorum*, 1838, 4^o, that the foundation story of 'Robert the Devil' and 'Robert of Sicily' is the tale of *Jovinianus*, which is told at considerable length both in the English and Latin *Gesta*.' (Hazlitt, *E. Pop. Poetry*, i. 268.)]

- (3) The tayl of the volfe of the varldis end.

[*Volfe* should be *volle*, says Mr. J. A. H. Murray¹, and that means *well*. If so, Robert Chambers, in his *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, 1870, tells at p. 105-7 a fairy tale of "The Wal at the Warld's End (*Fife*)," whither a nasty queen with a nastier daughter, sends the nice daughter of a king, to fill a bottle with water. The nice daughter comes back ten times nicer, and marries a bonnie young prince; but the nasty daughter, when sent, comes back ten times nastier, and marries a cobbler, who licks her every day with a leather strap.]

- (4) Ferrand, erl of Flandris, that mareit the deuyll.

[The story is probably the same which is related by Gervase of Tilbury, "de Domina castri de Espervcl²," and by Bournaker, of the ancestor of the Plantagenet family³. *Leyden*, p. 237. Barbour mentions Earl Ferrand's mother in *The Bruce*, book iv, l. 241 etc., p. 85, ed. Skeat:

The erll ferrandis moder was
Ane nygramansour, and sathanas
Scho rasit, and him askit syne,
Quhat suld worth of the fichtyne
Betuix the franch kyng and hir sone.

The devil gave an ambiguous answer; and the outcome was that the Earl

. . . discumfit wes, & schent, (l. 280)
And takyn, and to paris sent.]

- (5) The tayl of the reyde eyttyn vitht the thre heydis.

[A. S. *Eoten*, a giant. 'Sir David Lindsay relates, in the prologue to his *Dreme*, that he was accustomed, during the minority of James V, to lull him asleep with 'tales of the red-stin and the gyre carlin.' *Leyden*, p. 319. See the Early English Text Society's ed. of Lyndesay, p. 264, l. 45. As Lyndesay mentions several of the stories named in the *Complaynt*, it may be as well to quote his lines here:—

More plesandlie the tyme for tyll ouerdryus,	32
I haue, at lenth, the storeis done discryue	
Off Hectour, <i>Arthour</i> , and gentyll Iulyus,	
Off Alexander, and worthy Pompeyus,	
Off <i>Iasone and Media</i> , all at lenth,	36
Off <i>Hercules</i> the actis honorabyll,	
And of Sampson the supernaturall strenth,	
And of leill Luffaris storeis amiabyll;	
And oft tymes haue I feinzeit mony fabyll,—	40

¹ *Volfe* should undoubtedly be 'volle' or 'velle.' The South-Scotch pronunciation of well is *woll* or *wull*, and a place near Ashkirk written *Well* is always called *Woll*. I am going to print *volle*, in my edition of the *Complaynt*, having no doubt as to it. *Wolf* is before given as *voff*, modern *wouf*.—J. A. H. M.

² *Otia Imperialia*, ap. Script. Rer. Brunsvic. vol. i, p. 978.

³ *Forduni Scotichron.* a Goodall, vol. 2. p. 9.

Off Treylus the sorrow and the Loye,
And *Seigis* all, of Tyir, Thebes, and *Troye*.

The *Prophiseis* of Rymour, Beid, & *Marlyng*,
And of mony vther plesand storys,— 44
Off the reid Etin, and the gyir carlyng,—
Comfortand the, quhen that I saw the sorye.

Robert Chambers, in his *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, 1870, p. 89–94, prints ‘from Mr. Buchan’s curious manuscript collection’—an untrustworthy source, I assume—a fairy tale of the *Red Etin of Ireland*, a three-headed giant, who is killed by a poor widow’s son who answers his three questions, “Whether Ireland or Scotland was first inhabited? Whether man was made for woman, or woman for man? Whether men or brutes were made first?” The young man frees the giant’s prisoners, and among them a king’s daughter, whom he marries.]

- (6) The tail quhou perseus sauit andromada fra the cruel monstir.
[*Ovid’s Metamorphoses*, iv. 663 etc. This and the other classical stories were probably only short tales from some translation of Ovid, and, most likely, not printed ones.]

- (7) The prophysie of merlyne.

[See the Lyndesay extract above, l. 43. Editions by Wynkyn de Worde in 1510 and 1529 are known, and Warton says there was an edition by John Hawkins in 1533. ‘Here begynneth a Lytel Treatyse of the Byrth and Prophecy of Marlyn.’ Colophon: ‘Here endeth a lytell treatyse of Marlyn, whiche prophesied of many fortunes or happes here in Englande. Enprynted in London in fletestrete at the sygne of the sonne by Wynkyn de Worde the yere of our lorde a M CCCC and X.’ 4to, 44 leaves. (*Hazlitt*.) ‘This poetical romance,’ says Lowndes, ‘differs in many respects from the MS. copies. See Brydges’s *Censura Literaria*.’ After the date of the *Complaynt* we have a book which perhaps contains some Prophecies made before that date: “The Whole Propheisie of Scotland, England, & some part of France, and Denmark, Prophesied bee meruellous *Merling*, Beid, Bertlingtoun, Thomas Rymour, Waldhaue, Eltraîne, Banester, and Sibbilla, all according in one. Containing many strange and mernelous things. Printed by Robert Waldegraue, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie. Anno. 1603.” And reprinted for the Bannatyne Club in 1833. The Prophecies of ‘Merling’ are on pages 3–9, 12–14 of the reprint; and another version of parts of the second of these was printed by Mr. Lumby for the Early English Text Society, in *Bernardus de Cura Rei familiaris* etc. 1870, p. 18–22: see Preface, p. ix.]

- (8) The tayl of the giantis that eit quyk men.

[Probably some version of Jack the Giant-killer, or Jack and the Beanstalk, many varieties of which used to thrill me when a boy, when, after darkness had put an end to “Kings, Covenanters!” “Duck,” or “Hy-Spy,” we used to gather into an entry to “tell boglie tales,” till our hair stood on end, and we were too frightened to separate to go home.—J. A. H. Murray.]

- (9) On fut, by fortht, as i culd found.

[That is, ‘On foot, by Forth, as I did go.’ A ballad not now known.]

- (10) Vallace.

[Of the only edition known before 1548, a fragment of 20 leaves only has been preserved. It appears to be printed with Chepman and Myllar’s peculiar types, and is supposed to be about 1520 A.D. It is translated

from the Latin of Robert Blair, written in the beginning of the 14th century (*Hazlitt's Handbook*). Many later editions exist. The best is from the unique MS in the Advocates' Library, dated 1488, edited by Dr. Jamieson in 1820, and reprinted at Glasgow in 1869, with all its mistakes. The translator is said to have been Blind Harry the Minstrel, about 1470.]

(11) The bruce.

[By Chaucer's contemporary, John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, who died in 1395 or 1396. No printed edition before about 1570 is now known. Only 2 MSS of the poem are known, of which the best, which has lost its first third, is in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge, and is dated 1487. The inferior MS is in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, is complete, is dated 1489, was edited by Dr. Jamieson in 1820, and reprinted at Glasgow, with all its mistakes, in 1869. The Rev. W. W. Skeat is now re-editing the work from both MSS and the old printed editions for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series: Part I. was published in 1870. Mr. Cosmo Innes made a dreadful mess of the text, which he symmetrized, in his edition for the Spalding Club, 1856. Mr. Henry Bradshaw, University Librarian at Cambridge, has found two MSS containing parts of a verse Troy Book by Barbour, and another very long MS of Saints' Lives in verse, also by Barbour.]

(12) Ypomedon.

['The Life of Ipomydon.' Colophon: 'Enprynted at London in the Fletestrete at the sygne of the Sonne by Wynkyn de Worde;' no date, 4to, but with "L'enuoye of Robert C[opland] the prynter." Only one incomplete copy known. This romance was printed by Weber in his *Metrical Romances*, 1810, vol. ii. p. 279, from the Harl. MS. 2252; and the story of it is told in Ellis's *Early English Metr. Rom.* p. 505 etc., ed. Bohn. "The hero of this romance is a Norman, though his name be derived from the Theban war. He is son of Ermones, King of Apulia, and, by his courtesy and skill in hunting, gains the affections of the heiress of Calabria, whom he visits in disguise." (*Leyden*, p. 240.)]

(13) The tail of the thre futtit dog of norrouay.

[Robert Chambers gives the story of 'The Black Bull of Norrowsy' in his *Popular Rhymes*, p. 95-99, and that of the similar 'Red Bull of Norroway' at p. 99-101.]

(14) The tayl quhou Hercules sleu the serpent hidra that hed vij heydis.

[This was doubtless a short story from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, ix. 70. The earliest known English Romance on Hercules is late: "The History of the Life and Glorious Actions of the mighty Hercules of Greece, his encountering and overthrowing serpents, lions, monsters, giants, tyrants, and powerful armies; his taking of cities, towns, kings, and kingdoms, etc. With many rare and extraordinary adventures and exploits, wonderful and amazing. Also the manner of his unfortunate death: being the most excellent of histories. Printed for S. Bstes at the Sun and Bible in Pye-Corner." Small 4to, no date. One copy is among Malone's books in the Bodleian, and another was sold at Mr. Corser's second sale (*Catalogue*, p. 55), where was also sold "HERCULES. Sensuyt les proesses et vaillances du preux et vaillant Hercules. Bk. I., small 4to. Paris, par Alain Lotrian. s.d."]

(15) The tail quhou the kyng of est mure land mareit the kyngis dochtir of vest mure land.

[Can this be "King Estmere" in *Percy's Reliques*? Percy tore this

ballad out of his Folio Manuscript—confound him for it!—so that we cannot tell how badly he cookt the copy he has left us. See the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, vol. ii, p. 200, note 1; p. 600-7.]

- (16) Skail gillenderson, the kyngis sone of skellye.
[Some Scandinavian legend.]
- (17) The tayl of the four sonnys of aymon.
[Capt. Cox, III, p. xix, above.]
- (18) The tayl of the brig of the mantribil.
[No doubt a lost English Charlemagne romance, for in Barbour's Bruce, it is said that Charlemagne

“... wan *Mantrybill*, and passed Flagot.”
Ed. Pinkerton, i, 81 (*Leyden*, p. 237).]

- (19) The tail of syr euan, arthours knycht.
[No separate printed tale of Sir Ywain is known except the poem of ‘Ywaine and Gawin,’ printed by Ritson in his *Metrical Romances* from the Cotton MS. Galba E ix. Leyden says, p. 256, “in Peringskiold's list of Scandic MSS in the Royal library of Stockholm, besides a metrical history of king Arthur, which records his league with Charlemagne, the following titles occur: *Sagan af Ivent*, *Eingland Kappe*;—the history of Ewain, Arthurs best beloved knight in England, containing his combats with the Giants and Blacks. This is undoubtedly the romance of Ewain mentioned in the *Complaynt*.—*Sagan af Herra Bewus*, the Romance of Sir Bevis.”]

- (20) Rauf collyear.
[Dunbar, in his address ‘To the King,’ and Gawin Douglas, in his ‘Palice of Honour,’ mention this poem of Ralph the Collier, though no printed edition of it is known before that ‘Imprentit at Sanct Androis by Robert Lekpreuk, anno 1572,’ which Mr. David Laing reprinted in his *Select Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of Scotland*, 1822: “Heire beginnis the tail of Rauf Collyear, how he harbrait King Charlis.” See Irving's *History of Scottish Poetry*, p. 88-92. A capital poem it is, that ought to be known better in England. It is the Scotch parallel of *John the Reve* in the Percy Folio, (with which Dunbar and Douglas couple it,) and is told in humorous alliterative stanzas; only, the Collier treated Charlemagne more roughly than the Reve treated Edward Longshanks, for he

.. hit him vnder the eir with his richt hand
Quhill he stakkerit thair-with-all
Half the breid of the hall.

Mr. Laing has kept us waiting a most tantalizingly long time for a new edition of his excellent *Select Remains*. The volume contains several English pieces.]

- (21) The seige of millan.
[Milan has seen many a siege since, at the end of the third century, Maximianus surrounded it with walls. Attila devastated it; so did the Goths in 539 A.D. under Vitiges. Frederic Barbarossa and his Germans took it by assault, and razed it to the ground in 1162. In the petty wars of the Italian cities in the 13th and later centuries, Milan took a prominent part. But I suppose the *Complaynt* tale to refer to the great Barbarossa siege.]

- (22) Gauen and gollogras.

[Cp. Capt. Cox's *Syr Gawyn*, XII, p. xxxiv above.]

- (23) Lancelot du lac.

[No early printed English *Lancelot* is known; and we have only one MS, a Scotch one at Cambridge, in the University Library, carelessly printed by Mr. Stevenson for the Maitland Club, 1839 (*Lancelot of the Laik*), and carefully edited for the Early English Text Society, 1865, by the Rev. W. W. Skeat. It is short, and contains only a small part of the French *Lancelot*.]

- (24) Arthour knycht, he raid on nycht,
-
- witht gyltin spur and candil lycht.

[Leyden says, p. 229, "The romance, of which these lines seem to have formed the introduction, is unknown; but I have often heard them repeated in a nursery tale, of which I only recollect the following ridiculous verses :

Chick my naggie, chick my naggie!
How many miles to Aberdeagie?
'Tis eight, and eight, and other eight;
We'll no win there wi' candle light."

I don't believe in Leyden's supposed "romance." It was probably a ballad.]

- (25) The tail of floremond of albanye, that sleu the dragon be the see.

[This Tale is lost. Leyden says (p. 229) that the name of the hero is mentioned in the romance of *Roswall and Lilian* (Edinb. 1663, blk. lr., 846 lines; and Laing's *Early Metrical Tales*, 1826):—

Because that I love you so well,
Let your name be Sir Lion dale,
Or great Florent of Albanie,
My heart, if ye bear love to me;
Or call you Lancelot du Lake,
For your dearest true-love's sake;
Call you the Knight of arm[e]s green¹,
For the love of your Lady sheen.]

- (26) The tail of syr valtir, the bald leslye.

[Leyden says (p. 230) "This seems to have been a romance of the Crusades. Sir Walter Lesly accompanied his brother Norman to the East, in the Venetian expedition, to assist Peter, king of Cyprus; where, according to Fordun (*Scotichronicon*, lib. xvi, cap. 15) 'cœperunt civitatem Alexandrinam tempore ultimi regis David.' After the death of his brother he became Earl of Ross, and Duke of Leygaroch in France. The romance," if one ever existed, is lost.]

- (27) The tail of the pure tynt.

[Probably the groundwork of the Fairy tale of 'the pure tint Rashycot' a common nursery tale." Leyden, p. 236. The tale of 'Rashis-Coat (*Fife*)' is told in R. Chambers's *Popular Rhymes*, 1870, p. 66-8, and an inferior version follows it. It is "the Scottish edition of the tale of *Cinderella*."]]

¹ Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (Roxb. Club, and E. E. Text Soc.).

(28) Claryades and maliades.

[No printed copy is known earlier than 1830, when Dr. David Irving edited the romance of *Clariodus* from an imperfect MS of about 1550 A.D., for Mr. Edward Piper's present to the Maitland Club. The romance is earlier than its MS, and is translated from a French prose original, of which there was once an English translation, made before the Scotch one. The story is of England:—how, after the days of King Arthur, the young knight Clariodus, son of the Earl of Esture, or the Asturias, wins and weds the lovely lady Meliades, daughter and heiress of Philipon, king of England; and how, after their marriage (at p. 304) feasting, adventures, tourneys, journeys to Castalie, Ireland &c go on, till the text ends, imperfectly, at p. 376 of the printed edition.]

(29) Arthur of litil bertangze.

[This is the book reprinted in 4to by Utterson in 1814 as “Arthur of Brytayne. The hystory¹ of the moost² noble and valyaunt knyght Arthur of lytell brytayne, translated out of frensshe in to englushe³ by the noble Johan Bourghcher knyght lorde Barners, newly Imprynted:” no date, black letter, folio, 179 leaves. (Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* i. 63). Colophon: “Here endeth the hystory of Arthur of lytell Brytayne. Imprynted at London in Powles chtrche yeard at the sygne of the Cocke by Roberte Redborne.” Only 2 perfect copies exist, at Althorp and Bridgewater House; and one imperfect copy.]

(30) Robene hude and litil ihone.

[See Capt. Cox's *Robin Hood*, XXII, p. li, above. It's the same book, no doubt.]

(31) The meruellis of mandiuail.

[We know 3 editions before 1548 of this most amusing book of travels and legends, 1. Wynkyn de Worde's in 1499; 2. at his sign of the Sun in 1503; 3. Pynson's, without date. 1. “Here Begynneth a lytell treatyse or booke named Johan Mandeuyll Knyght horn in Englonde in the towne of saynt Alhone and speketh of the wayes of the holy londe toward Jherrusalem, and of marueyles of Ynde and of other dyuerse countrees.” Colophon. “Here endeth the boke of Johan Maundeuyll knyght, of the wayes towarde Jerusalem, & of the meruayles of Ynde & of other dyuerse countrees. Emprynted at Westmynster by Wynken de Worde. Anno domini M. CCCC. LXXXIX.” 8vo. An edition was publisht in 1725 from the Cotton MS, Titus C. xvi,—incorrectly, I expect—and was reprinted in 1839 and 1869, with an Introduction by Mr. Halliwell, and some very quaint woodcuts from the MS and the old printed editions. Sir John Mandeville left England for Jerusalem etc. in 1322, and wrote his *Travels* in 1356, thirty-four years after he started. Later on, the work was turned into a chap-book: “The Foreign Travels of Sir John Mandeville. Containing, An Account of remote Kingdoms, Countries, Rivers, Castles, &c. Together with a Description of Giants, Pigmies, and various other People of odd Deformities; as also their Laws, Customs, and Manners. Likewise enchanted Wildernessea, Dragons, Griffins, and many more wonderful Beasts of Prey, &c &c &c.” (With 7 woodcuts.) ‘Printed and Sold in Aldermary Church-Yard, London. (In Mr. Corser's sale.)’]

(32) (33) The tayl of the zong tamlene, and of the bald braband.

[Leyden identifies Tamlene with the later ballad of *The Young Tamlane* in *Scott's Minstrelsy*, A.D. 1802, (p. 474-480 of A. Murray's reprint, 1869), a few verses of which appeared in *Herd's Scottish Songs*, 1776,

¹ Mystory—*Hazlitt's Handbook*. ² moast—*Hazlitt*. ³ englishe—*Hazlitt*.

i. 159 (ed. 1869), as 'Kertouhe, or the Fairy Court,' and Johnson's Museum. (See p. clix below.) He therefore makes The Bald Braband a separate romance of French or Norman origin. Mr. J. A. H. Murray does so too, notwithstanding the author's singular "tayl," which would lead us to suppose that the two heroes belonged to one story. See some doggerel verses on 'Tam o' the Linn' in R. Chambers's *Popular Rhymes*, ed. 1870, p. 33, and p. cxxvii above.]

(34) The ryng¹ of the roy Robert.

[In Mackenzie's *Lives*, vol. i, and Pinkerton's list of the poems in the Folio Maitland MS, this poem is ascribed to Deime David Steill. It begins "In to the ring of the roy Robert." A modernized copy was issued in 1700 under the title of "Robert the III, king of Scotland, his Answer to a Summonds sent by Henry the IV. of England to do homage for the Crown of Scotland," is [re]printed in Watson's Collection of Scottish poems, pt. 3, which begins "Dureing the reigne of the Royal Robert." *Leyden*, p. 231. It is also reprinted 'in two different publications of Mr. Laing, *Fugitive Scottish Poetry*, and *Early Metrical Tales*. It contains a magnanimous and indignant answer, supposed to have been returned by Robert the Third, when Henry the Fourth of England summoned him to do homage for his kingdom. The author's patriotism may be more safely commended than his poetry, which is of a very inferior order.' *Irving's Hist. of Scottish Poetry*, p. 201, ed. 1861.]

(35) Syr egeir and syr gryme.

[Of this verse Romance no printed copy is known earlier than 1687. It belongs to Mr. David Laing, who reprinted the 2nd edition known, that of 1711, in his *Early Metrical Tales*, 1826. By far the best copy² is in Bp. Percy's Folio MS, and is printed in the *Ballads and Romances of it*, i. 354-400, in 1474 lines. Its "subject is the true and tried friendship of Sir Eger and Sir Grime. It sings how a true knight (Sir Grime) stood faithfully by his friend when misfortune overtook him, and fought his battle, and won it, and was rewarded with the same happiness which he had so nobly striven to secure for his friend—success in love." In 1497, the sum of nine shillings was paid to "twa fithelaris that sang *Gray Steel to the King*." See Mr. D. Laing's Introduction, and Mr. Hales's in the Percy Folio *Bal. and Rom.* Gray Steel was the knight who overcame Sir

¹ reign.

² However, the lines praised so strongly by Prof. Lowell in his charming essay in *My Study Windows*, p. 256-7, are not in the Percy-Folio copy. The author of the inimitable *Biglow Papers* says: "One more passage occurs to me, almost incomparable in its simple straight-forward force, and choice of the right words:—

"Sir Graysteel to his death thus thraws,
He welters, and the grass updraws. . . .
A little while then lay he still,
(Friends that saw him, liked full ill,
And bled into his armour bright."

The last line, for suggestive reticence, almost deserves to be put beside the famous

"Quel giorno più non vi leggemmo avante"

of the great master of laconic narration [Dante]. In the same poem—"Sir Eger and Sir Grime in the Percy Folio i. 354. The passage quoted is from Ellis—"the growing love of the lady, in its maidenliness of unconscious betrayal, is touched with a delicacy and tact as surprising as they are delightful."

Eger, and who cut off the right little-finger of every knight he vanquisht. But Grime slew him for Eger's sake.]

- (36) Beuis of southamtonn.

[See Captain Cox's IV, p. xxii above.]

- (37) The goldin targe.

[This is a poem of Dunbar's, first printed on 6 leaves by Walter Chepman and Andro Millar at Edinburgh in 1508, though the copy in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, has no place or date on it. It is reprinted in Mr. David Laing's edition of Dunbar's Works 1834 (with a Supplement 1865), i. 11, and “the object of this poem is to demonstrate the general ascendancy of love over reason: the golden targe, or the shield of reason, is found an insufficient protection against the assaults of the train of love.” *Irving's Hist. of Scottish Poetry*, p. 235, ed. 1861.]

- (38) The paleis of honour.

[No copy of this is known so early as 1548-9, though a Scotch printer's copy must have existed earlier. As William Copland was at the Rose Garland in 1548, his undated edition might have been printed in the first year of Mary's reign: “The Palis of Honour composed by Gawyne Dowglas, Byschope of Dunkyll. Imprinted at London in flet-stret, at the sygne of the Rose garland by wylliam Copland. God saue Quene Marye,” 4to, black letter, 40 leaves. Henrie Charteris's edition of 1579 was reprinted for the Bannatyne Club in 1827, 4to. The poem, which is the longest of Douglas's original works, seems to have been written in 1501, and describes the author's dream of all the worthies of antiquity down to nearly his own day,—heathen gods and goddesses, as well as Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate,—journeying to the Palace of Honour. This he describes, and the lake, wherein those who fail to seek it, fall. The poem is an odd mixture of ancient and modern: Calliope expounds the scheme of human redemption. See *Irving*, p. 269-277, for an outline of it.]

- (39) The tayl quhou acteon vas transformit in ane hart, and syne slane be his auen doggis.

[Another tale from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, iii. 155 etc.]

- (40) The tayl of Pirramus and tesbe.

[No doubt a short tale from some lost translation of Ovid (*Met.* iv, 55-165). Golding's translation was not published till 1567. Mr. Halliwell prints the Pyramus story from it in his *Introduction to Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1841, p. 12-16. The first notice that we have of a book on this subject is in an entry in 1562-3 in the Stationers' Register A, leaf 92 (*Collier*, i. 79):—

W greffethe **Recevyd** of Wylliam greffeth for his lycense for }
pryntinge of a boke intituled Perymus and Thesbye } iiij^a

No copy of the book is known, nor any of the later edition by Hacket. Mr. Collier says ‘The History of Pyramus and Thisbie, truly translated,’ is contained in the ‘Gorgeous Gallery of gallant Iventions,’ 1578; and in the ‘Handfull of Pleasant Delights,’ 1584, is ‘a new Sonet of Pyramus and Thisbie,’ subscribed J. Tomson. (*Stat. Reg.* i. 80.)

- (41) The tail of the amours of leander and hero.

[The only notice we have of the earliest and otherwise unknown translation of the work of Musæus the Grammarian, *De Amore Herois et Leandri*, is a marginal note in Abraham Fleming's translation of Virgil's *Georgics*, 1589, 4to: “The poet alludeth to the historie of Leander and Hero,

written by Musæus, and Englished by me a dozen yeares ago [1577], and in print." J. P. Collier, in *Notes and Queries*, Dec. 8, 1849, p. 84-5. This 'tayl' of the *Complaynt* before 1548 may—like many others in the list—have been a broadside. Ovid mentions the story, *Her.* xviii. 19.]

- (42) The tail quhou Iupiter transformit his deir loue yo in ane cou.
[More Ovid: *Metamorphoses*, bk. i.]
- (43) The tail quhou that iason van the goldin fleice.
[This may be 'A Boke of the hoole Lyf of Jason' printed by Caxton about 1477, consisting of 148 leaves, and reprinted in 1492, by Gerard Leen of Antwerp, with cuts, 'The veray trew History of the valiaunt Knight Jason;,' but was probably only a short Tale from the 7th book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Caxton's edition is translated from Raoul Le Fevre's French original.]
- (44) Opheus, kyng of portingal.
[This cannot be the romance of Orfeo and Heurodis in the Affleck MS, printed in Mr. D. Laing's *Select Remains*, 1822, in which Orfeo is a king in England, has the city of Traciens or Winchester, and recovers Heurodis who has been carried off by the King of the Fairies. Nor can it be Henryson's poem printed by W. Chepman and A. Millar in 1508:—"Heire begynnis the traitie of Orpheus kyng, and how he yeid to hewyn and to hel to seik his quene: And ane other ballad in the lattir end;—" and reprinted in Mr. David Laing's edition of Henryson's Works, 1865. Henryson rightly makes his Orpheus, king of Thrace. Perchance some Middle-age writer altered Thrace to Portugal. Geography was 'of no consequence' with the story-tellers of those days.]
- (45) The tayl of the goldin appil.
[That of Eris, inscribed 'to the fairest,' thrown among the Gods at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, whence sprang the dispute between Juno, Minerva, and Venus, its decision by Paris, the rape of Helen, and the fall of Troy, that central romance of the Middle-ages. Plenty of stories of it,—long to shorten, short to translate,—were there to serve as the original of the *Complaynt* 'tayl']
- (46) The tail of the thre veird systirs.
['Clotho, the spinning fate; Lachesis, the one who assigns to man his fate; and Atropos, the fate that cannot be avoided.' Ovid, *Met.* xv. 781, 808 etc.]
- (47) The tayl quhou that dedalus maid the laborynth to keip the monster minotaurus.
[Ovid, *Met.* viii.]
- (48) The tail quhou kyng midas gat tua asse luggis on his hede, be cause of his auereis.
[Another story from Ovid, book xi of the *Metamorphoses*. Ballad on the same subject among the broadsides of the Society of Antiquaries, written by T. Hedley, and imprinted at London, by Hary Sutton dwelling in Poules Churchyard, and reprinted in Mr. Halliwell's *Introduction to Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream*, p. 18-19. Sutton printed and publisht from 1557 to 1575.]

¶ Quhen thir scheiphyrdis hed tald al thyr pleysand storeis, than thay and ther vyuis began to sing sueit melodius sangis of natural music of the antiquite, the foure marmadyns that sang

quhen thetis vas mareit on month pillion, thai sang nocht sa sueit
as did thir scheiphyrdis, quhilkis ar callit to name, parthenopie,
leucolia, illigiatetempora, the feyrd callit legia, for thir scheiphirdis
excedit al thir foure marmadyns in melodius music, in gude ac-
cordis and reportis of dyapason prolations, and dyatesseron. the
musician amphion quhilk sang sa dulce, quhil that the stanis mouit,
and also the scheip and nolt, and the foulis of the ayr, pronoucit
there bestial voce to sing vitht hym. zit nochtheles his ermonius
sang prefferit nocht the sueit sangis of thir foir-said scheiphirdis.
Nou i vil reherse sum of the sueit sangis that i herd among them
as eftir follouis. in the fyrst,

(49) Pastance vitht gude companye.

[English. Written by Henry VIII. Facsimiled, with the tune, for
Mr. Wm. Chappell, in *Archæologia*, xli. 372. from a MS that once belonged
to Henry VIII, and now belongs to a Mrs. Lamb. The song was also
printed by Dr. Rimbault in his *Little Book*, p. 37, and Mr. Chappell in
his *Popular Music*, from the Additional MS 5665 in the British Museum,
which was once Joseph Ritson's. It is there called “The Kyngis Balade.”
Here it is from Mrs. Lamb's MS, pages 24, 25, as facsimiled in *Archæo-
logia*, vol. xli, Pl. xvi, p. 372; but in the MS every ll has a line across
its top.

The kyng. H. viij.

(1)

Pastyme with good companye
I loue, & shall vntyll I dye;—
gruche who lust, but none denye,
so god be plesyd, thus leue wyll I.
for my pastance
hunt, syng, & daunce,
my hart is sett!
all goodly sport,
for my comfort,
who shall me let?

(2)

yonthe must haue sum daliance,
off good or yll, sum pastance;
Companye me thynkes then best,
all thoughtes & fansys to deiest;

ffor Idillnes
is cheff mastres
of vices all;
then who can say
but mirth and play
is best of all?

(3)

Company with honeste
is vertu, vices to flee;
Company is good & ill,
but euery man hath hys fre wyll;
the best ensew,
the worst eschew,
my mynde shalbe;
vertu to vse,
vice to refuse;
thus shall I vse me.

Bishop Latimer, says Mr. Chappell, wished to instil into Edward VI a
higher view of what “Pastyme with good Company” should be than he
would get from his father's Ballad, and on that account in his Second
Sermon before the young king,—preacht on Deut. xxii. 18, “And it shall
be when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write
him a copy of this law in a book out of *that which is* before the priests the
Leuites: And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days
of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God,” etc.,—says

“And when the kyng is sette in the seate of hys Kyngedome, what
shal he do? shal he daunce, and dally, banket? hauke and hunte? No
forsothe syr. For as God set an order in the Kyngs stable as I tolde you
in my last Sermon, so wyll he appoynte what pastyme a Kyng shall

haue. What must he do then? He muste be a studient. He must wryte Goddes boke hym selfe. Not thynkyng bycause he is a kyng, he hath lycence to do what he wyl, as these worldye flatterers are wont to say. Yea, trouble not your selfe sir, ye mai haue and hunt, and take youre pleasure. As for the guydinge of your kyngdome and people, let vs alone wyth it.

"These flattering clawbackes are originall rotes of all mischyue, and yet a Kyng maye take hys pastyme in haukinge or huntynge or such lyke pleasures. But he must vse them for recreation when he is wery of waightly affayres, that he mai returne to them the more lustye. and this is called *pastime with good companye*." (Ed. Arber, p. 64.)

And again, "So your grace must learne howe to do of Salomon. Ye must make your petition, now study, nowe praye. They must be yoked together, and thys is called '*pastime wyth good companye*.'" (*Ib.* p. 70.)]

(50) The breir byndis me soir.

(51) Stil vudir the leyuis grene.

[See (96). In the Maitland MS, and printed by Pinkerton in his Maitland Poems, p. 205. In his notes, p. 424, Pinkerton says "This piece, for the age it was written, is almost miraculous. The tender pathos is finely recommended by an excellent cadence. An age that produced this, might produce almost any perfection in poetry." I wonder what the worthy editor's notion of 'quite miraculous' was, though the 'sang' is a good one. Mr. Lumby has kindly read this print with the MS; but the initial 'y' is printed 'th.'

THE MURNING MAIDIN.

(1)

Still under the levis grene,
This hinder day I went along;
I hard ane may fair mwrne and
meyne;
To the KING OF LUIF scho maid
hir mone. 4
Scho sychit sely soir;
Said 'Lord, I luif thi loir.
Mair wo dreit never woman one.
O langsum lyfe, and thow war gone,
Than suld I mwrne no moir!' 9

(2)

As rid gold-wyir schynit hir hair;
And all in grene, the may scho glaid.
Ane bent bow in hir hand scho bair;
Undir hir belt war arrowis braid. 13
I followit on that fre,
That semelie wes to se.
Withe still mwrning hir mone scho
maid.
That bird undir a bank scho baid,
And lenit hir to ane tre. 18

(3)

Wanweird, scho said: "Quhat have
I wrocht,
"That on me kytht hes all this cair?"

Trew lufe, so deir I have the
bocht!—
Certis, so sall I do na mair. 22
Sen that I go begyld
With ane that faythe has syld.—
That gars me oftsyis syis¹ full sair;
And walk among the holtis hair,
Within the woddis wyld. 27

(4)

"This grit disese for luif I dre—
Thair is no toung can tell the wo!—
I luif the lufe that luifis not me;
I may not mend, but mwrning mo.
Quhill God send sum remeid, 32
Throw destany, or deid.
I am his freind, and he my fo.
My sweet, allace! quhy dois he so?
I wrocht him never na feid! 36

(5)

"Withoutin feyid I wes his freind
In word and wark. Grit God it
wait!
Quhair he wes placit, thair list I
leyud,
Doand him service ayr and lait. 40
He kepand eftir syne
Till his honour and myne.

¹ for *sich*, sigh.

Bot now he gais ane uther gait,
And hes no e to my estait;
Quhilk dois me all this pyne. 45

(6)

"It dois me pyne that I may prufe,
That maks me thus murning mo.
My lufe, he luifs ane uther lufe!
Allace, sweithart! Quhy dois he so?
Quhy sould he me forsaike? 50
Have mercye on his maik!
Thairfoir my hart will birst in two.
And thus, walking with da and ro,
My leif now heir I taik." 54

(7)

Than wepiti scho, lustie in weyde;
And on her wayis can scho went.
In hy eftir that heynd I zeyde,
And in my armes could hir hent, 58
And said "Fayr lady, at this tyd,
With leif ye man abyde,
And tell me quho yow hidder sent,
Or quhy ye heir your bow so bent
To sla our deir of pryde?" 63

(8)

"In waithman weyde sen I yow find
In this wod walkand your alone,
Your mylk-qhyt handis we sall
bind
Quhill that the blude birst fra the
bone. 67
Chargeand yow to prwsoun,
To the king's deip dwngeoun.
Thai may ken, be your fedderit
flane,
Ye have mony beistis bane
Upon thir bentis broun." 72

(9)

That fre answerit with fayr afeir,
And said, "Schir, mercy, for your
mycht!
Thus man I bow and arrowis heir,
Becaus I am ane baneist wycht; 76
So will I be full lang.
For Godis luif lat me gang;
And heir to yow my treuth I plycht,
That I sall, nowder day nor nycht,
No wyld beist wait with wrang. 81

(10)

"Thocht I walk in this forrest fre,
Withe bow, and eik with fedderit
flane,

It is weill mair than dayis thre,
And meit or drynk yit saw I mane.
Thocht I had never sic neid 86
My selfe to wyn my breid,
Your deir may walk, schir, thair
alane.

Yet wes I never na beistis bane;
I may not se thame bleid. 90

(11)

"Sen that I never did yow ill,
It wer no skill ye did me skaith.
Your deir may walk quhairrevir thair
will;

I wyn my meit with na sic waithe.
I do bot litill wrang, 95
Bot gif I flowris fang.

Giff that ye throw not in my aythe,
Tak heir my bow and arrowis
baythe,
And lat my awin selfe gang. 99

(12)

"I say your bow and arrowis
bricht!—
I bid not have thame, be Sanct
Bryd.

Bot ye man rest with me all nycht,
All nakit sleipand be my syd." 103
"I will not do that syn!"
"Leif yow this world to wyn!
Ye ar so haill of hew and hyd,
Luif hes me fangit into this tyd;
I may not fra yow twyn." 108

(13) [p. 203.]

Than lukit scho to me, and lewch;
And said "Sic lufe I rid yow layne.
Albeit ye mak it never sa tewch,
To me your labour is in vane. 112
Wer I out of your sycht
The space of halfe a nycht,
Suppois ye saw me never agane—
Luif hes yow streinyeit with litle
pane,
Thairto my treuthe I plycht." 117

(14)

I said, "My sweit, forsuythe I sall
For ever luif yow, and no mo.
Thocht uthers luif, and leif, with
all,
Maist certanlie I do not so. 121
I do yow trew luif hecht,
Be all the bewis bricht!
Ye ar so fair! be not my fo!
Ye sall have syn, and ye me slo
Thus throw ane suddan sycht." 126

(15)

"That I yow sla, that God for-
scheild!
Quhat have I done, or said, yow
till?
I wes not wont wappynis to weild;
Bot am ane woman, gif ye will, 130
That suirle feiris yow,
And ye not me, I trow.
For, gude schir, tak in none ill,
Sall never berne gar breif the bill
At bidding me to bow. 135

(16) [p. 210.]

"Into this wode ay walk I sall,
Ledand my lyfe as woful wycht:
Heir I forsaik bayth bour and hall,
And all thair bigings that are
brycht! 139
My bed is maid full cauld,
With beistis bryme and bauld.
That garris me say, bayth day and
nycht,
Allace that ever the toung sould
hecht
That hart thoct not to hauld!" 144

(17)

Thir words out throw my hairt so
went,
That neir I wepit for hir wo;
But thairto wald I not consent,
And said that it sould not be so. 148
Into my armes swythe
Embrasit I that blythe,
Sayand, "Sweit hart! of harmes
ho!
Found sall I never this forrest fro,
Quhill ye me confort kyth." 153

(18)

Than knelit I befor that cleir;
And meiklie could hir mercye craiff
That semlie than, with sobir ohier,
Me of hir gudlynes forgaif. 157
It wes no neid I-wys,
To bid ws uther kys.
Thair mycht no hairtis mair joy
resait,
Nor uther could of uther haif:
Thus brocht wer we to blys. 162
(MS. in Pepysian Libr. Cambr.)]

(52) Cou thou me the raschis grene.

[Appendix to the Royal MSS, 58 (No. 26 in the 'Catalogue of the Manuscript Music in the British Museum, 1842, p. 10). The *Fayrfax MS.* leaf 2. Printed in Ritson's *Ancient Songs*, vol. i, p. lxxv, with the music,

c Olle to me the Rysshys grene. Colle to me.
Colle to me the Rysshes grene. Colle to me.

ffor my pastyme, vpon a day,
I walkyde a-lone ryght secretly;
in A mornynge of lusty may,
me to Reioyce I dyd A-plye.

wher I saw one in gret dystresse
Complaynyng hym thus pytuously:
"Alas!" he sayde, "for my mastres,
I well perseyue that I shall dys.

"wythout that thus she of hure grace,
to pety she wyll some what reuert,
I haue most cause to say A-las!
ffor hyt ys she that hath my hart,

"Soo to contynew whyle my lyff endure,
though I fore hure sholde suffre dethe;
She hath my hart wyth owt Recure,
And euer shall, duryng my brethe."

On the back of leaf 12 is the same burden—

"Coll to me the russhes grene. Coll to me.
Coll to me the russhes grene. Coll to me."

set to a different tune.]

- (53) Allace, i vyit zour tua fayr ene!¹
 (54) Gode zou, gude day, vil boy.
 (55) Lady, help zour presoneir¹.
 (56) Kyng villzamis note.
 (57) The lang nounenou [= nonny no].
 (58) The cheapel valk.
 (59) Faytht is there none.
 (60) Skald abellis nou.
 (61) The abirdenis nou.
 (62) Brume brume on hil.
 [*English*. See Capt. Cox, LIII, p. cxxviii above, and *Pop. Mus.* p. 459.]
 (63) Allone i veip in grit distres.
 [Godified in *The Gude and Godlie Ballates*, p. 129, ed. D. Laing, 1868.]
 (64) Trolee lolee, lemnen dou.
 [Cp. Capt. Cox's *Troly lo*, LIV, p. cxxix.]
 (65) Bille, vil thou cum by a lute,
 and belt the in Sanct Francis cord?
 [In Constable's MS. Cantus the following lines [probably] of this song are introduced into a medley:

Bille, will ye cum by a lute,
 And tuich it with your pin? trow low! (*Leyden*, p. 279.)]

- (66) The frog cam to the myl dur.
 [Pinkerton, in his *Select Ballads*, ii. 33, says that “The froggie came to the mill door” was sung on the Edinburgh stage shortly before 1784. *Leyden*, p. 279, gives a few lines of another nursery song on the frog (or cat) and mouse. The earliest English notice of a Frog-song that we have is the entry on the Stationers' Register of a license to Edward White on 21 November 1580 of four ballads, of which the first is “A moste strange weddinge of the frogge and the mouse” (*Collier's Stat. Reg.* ii. 132). Dr. Rimbault has printed in his *Little Book*, p. 87-94, three versions of the wedding of the Frog and Mouse,—one Scotch, from Mr. C. K. Sharpe's *Ballad Book* 1826,—and mentions another old “Frogge Song” in Halliwell's *Nursery Rhymes*, ed. 1843, p. 87, and a parody upon the same in Tom d'Urfey's *Pills to purge Melancholy*, 1719, vol. i. p. 14.]
 (67) The sang of gilqubhiskar.
 (68) Rycht soirly musing in my mynde.
 [Godified in the *Godlie Ballates*, p. 54, ed. D. Laing, 1868.]
 (69) God sen the duc hed byddin in France,
 And delaubaute hed neuyr cum hame.
 [This song is not known; it must have been on ‘the Chevalier de la Beauté,’ who was left as Pro-regent in Scotland when John Duke of Albany retired to France, in the minority of James V, and who was murdered in 1515.’ *Leyden*, p. 276. See in Dunbar's *Works*, ed. Laing, i. 251 “Ane Oriscoun quhen the Governour past into France.”]

¹ Mr. David Laing thinks, from these first lines, that their songs are likely to have been Alexander Scott's. *Al. Scott's Poems*, p. 2.

- (70) Al musing of meruellis, amys hef i gone.

[A verse of this song occurs in Constable's MS. Cantus :

"All musing of mervells in the mid morne,
Through a slunk in a slaid, amisse have I gone;
I heard a song me beside, that reft from me my sprite,
But through my dream as I dreamed, this was the effect."

Leyden, p. 279.]

- (71) Mastres fayr, ze vil forfayr.

- (72) O lusty maye, vitht flora quene.

["This beautiful song was printed by Chepman and Myllar in 1508, and also in Forbes's Aberdeen Cantus [thence reprinted by Ritson, *Scottish Songs*, Hist. Essay, p. xli]: a copy with several variations, is preserved in the Bannatyne MS." *Leyden*, p. 279. The latter, not modernized as in Forbes, whose second song it is, is printed at the end of Alexander Scott's *Poems*, p. 97-9, ed. D. Laing.

(1)

"O lusty May with Flora quene,
The balny dropis frome Phebus
shene,
Prelucian be mes be-foir the day,
befoir the day,
By the Diana growis grene,
Throwch glaidnes of this lusty
May.

(2)

Than Esperus, that is so bricht
Till wofull hairtis, castis his lycht
With bankis that blumes (on
euey bray)—bis;
And schuris ar sched furt of bat
sicht
Thurch glaidnes of this lusty
May.

(3)

Birdis on bewis of every birth,
Reiosing nottis makand thair mirth,
Rycht pleasandly vpon the spray
With flurissingis, our feild & firth,
Thurch 'glaidnes of this lusty
May.'

(4)

All luvaris bat ar in cair,
To thair ladeis than do repair
In fresch mornyngis (befoir the
day),
And ar in mirth ay mair & mair
Thurch glaidnes of this lusty
May.

Bann. MS. fol.

"The following stanza, which occurs not in the Manuscript is added from the Aberdeen Cantus.

Of everie moneth in the yeir
To mirthfull May thair is no peir,
Hir glistrine garments ar so gay,

You lovaris all mak merie cheir,
Thurch glaidnes of this lustie
May."]

- (73) O myne hart, hay, this is my sang.

[Godlified in the *Godlie Ballates*, p. 121.]

- (74) The battel of the hayrlan
- ¹
- .

[The battle was fought in 1411 by the Earl of Mar and his force against the plundering Donald of the Isles with an army of 10,000 men. "But the earliest edition [of the ballad] that can be traced was published by Ramsay: and all the ancient poetry which passed through his hands was exposed to the most unwarrantable alterations. . . The poem consists of 248 lines . . . is a dry and circumstantial narrative, with little or no em-

¹ See the Dance Tune—*The Battel of Harlowe* in the British Museum Addit. MS. 10,444, leaf 4 bk. No. 8.

bellishment, and can only be considered as valuable in the belief of its being ancient. Of the author's historical vein a sufficient estimate may be formed from the subsequent” stanza:

Gude Sir Alexander Irving,
 The much renownit laird of Drum,
 Name in his days was bettir sene,
 Quhen they war semblit, all and sum;
 To praise him we sould not be dumm,
 For valour, witt, and worthyness.
 To end his days he ther did cum,
 Quo hois ransom is remeidyles.”

Irving's Hist. of Scottish Poetry, p. 162-3.

A copy of this ballad dated 1668 was in the collection of Mr. Robert Mylne, the Collector. The ballad is printed in Allan Ramsay's *Evergreen* 1724, and Laing's *Early Metrical Tales*, 1826, (*Hazlitt's Handbook*, p. 32, col. 2.) in “Two old Historical Scots Poems giving an account of the Battles of Harlaw and the Reid-Squair,” Glasgow 1748, &c &c.

From *Motherwell's Minstrelsy Ancient and Modern* (Glasgow 1827) p. lxxii note, Mr. Murray sends me the following: “The Battle of Hairlaw.—Antiquaries have differed in opinion regarding the age of this composition; but the best informed have agreed in looking upon it as of coeval production, or nearly so, with the historical event on which it is founded; and in this opinion the present writer entirely coincides. No edition prior to Ramsay's time has been preserved, though it was printed in 1668 as we are informed by Mr. Laing in his *Early Metrical Tales*, an edition of that date having been in the curious library of old Robert Mylne. In the *Complaynt of Scotland* 1549, this ballad is mentioned. In the *Polemio Middinia* its tune is referred to

Interea ante alios dux piperlarius heros,
 Præcedens magnamque gerens cum burdine pypam,
 Incipit Harlai cunctis sonare Batellum.

And in a MS. collection of tunes, written in the hand of Sir William Mure of Rowallan, which I have seen, occurs, “the battle of harlaw.” From the extreme popularity of the Song, it is not to be wondered at though every early imprint of it has now disappeared. (!!) Ramsay probably gave his copy from a stall edition of his own day, which copy has successively been edited by Mr. Sibbald, Mr. Finlay, and Mr. Laing, and has appeared in other collections. A copy apparently taken for recitation is given in “The Thistle of Scotland, Aberdeen, 1823,”—the editor of which among a good deal of stuff which is not very comprehensible, points out various localities, and gives 3 stanzas of a burlesque song on the same subject popular in the north.”]

(75) The hunttis of cheuet.

[This is the older and far finer version of the well-known ballad of *Chevy-Chase*. A noble ballad it is, this *Hunting of the Cheviot*,—no doubt that which stirred the heart of Sidney more than a trumpet,—though it's not known nearly so well as its poorer modernization, *Chevy-Chase*. The only copy we have of it is in the Ashmole MS. 48, leaves 15-18. Hearne first printed it in his Preface to the *History of Gulielmus Neubrigensis*, p. lxxxii. Percy made it the first ballad in his *Reliques*, and it has been reprinted in Prof. Child's *Ballads*, vii. 29, &c, &c. The Rychard Sheale, whose name is at the end of the ballad, was a well-known minstrel and writer of doggrel, and made either this copy or the one from which it was taken. Copiers in old times often signed their names to the work-

they copied. The fight of which the ballad tells, is not known to History, except in so far as it's mixt up with the battle of Otterbourne fought in 1388.

Of the modern version of the ballad, *Chevy Chase*, the copies and variations are many. Perhaps the oldest copy is in the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, ii. 7-16. That in 'the Scotch edition printed at Glasgow 8vo. 1747, is remarkable,' says Bp. Percy, 'for the wilful Corruptions made in all the Passages which concern the two nations.'

See Maidment's *Scottish Ballads*, 1868, i. 81; Dr. Rimbault's *Musical Illustrations to Percy's Reliques*, p. 1; Chappell's *Popular Music*, &c., &c.]

(76) Sal i go vitht zou to rumbelo fayr ?

[No such place as Rumbeloch is known, says Mr. Murray though the word *rumbelow* has been common in ballad-burdens from early times. Take this, on the battle of Bannockburn, 1314, preserved by the English chronicler Fabyan :

Maydins of England, sore may ye morne
For your lemmans ye haue loste at Bannockysborne,
Wyth heue a lowe.
What wenynt the kyng of England
So soone to haue wonne Scotlande,
Wyth rumbelow ?

(77) Greuit is my sorrou.

[Godified in the *Godlie Ballates*, p. 132. The poem is English: The lament of a sad lady whom her lover's unkindness slays.

Sloane MS. 1584, leaf 85.¹

(1)		(3)
Greus ys my sorowe		My harte, ytt haue no Reste,
Both evyne and ² moro!		but styll with peynes oppreste;
Vnto my selfe a-lone		And yett of alle my Smart,
Thus do I make my mowne,	4	Yit grevith moste my harte
That Vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me,		That vnkyndnes shuld kyll me,
And putt me to this payne.		and putt me to this payne.
Alas! what Remedy?		Alas! what Remedy? [<i>f. 85 bk.</i>]
That I cannot refreyne.	8	That I cannott refreyne.
		24
(2)		(4)
Whan other men doyth sleype,		Wo worth ³ trust vntrusty!
Thene do I syght and weype;		Wo worth love vn-lovyd!
Alle Ragius in my bed,		Wo worth hape vn-blamyd!
As one for paynes neyre ded,	12	Wo worth favtt vn-namyd,
That vnkyndnes haue kyllyd me,		Thus vnkyndly to kyll me,
And putt me to this payne.		And putt me to this payne!
Alas! what-remedy?		Now alas! what Remedy?
That I cannott refreyne.	16	That I cannott refrayne.
		32

¹ Printed also by Ritson, in his *Ancient Songs*, 1790, p. 93; and in the *Reliquæ Antiquæ*, 1841, i. 70.

² Every final *d* has a curl to it; and nearly every final *n* and *h* have a stroke over them.

³ be to.

(5)
 Alas! I lyve to longe;
 my paynes be so stronge;
 for comforth haue I none;
 God wott I wold fayne be gone, 36
 for vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me,
 And putt me to this payne.
 Alas! what remedy?
 That I cannott refrayne. 40

(6)
 Iff ony wyght be here
 That byeth love so dere:
 come nere! lye downe by me,
 And weype for company! 44
 for vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me,
 And putt me to this payne.
 Alas! what Remedy? [leaf 86.]
 That I cannott refrayne. 48

(7)
 My foes which love me nott,
 Be-vayle my deth, I wott;
 And he that love me beste,
 hyme selfe my deth haith dreste. 52
 What vnkyndnes shuld kyle me,
 If this ware nott my payne?
 Alas! what remedy?
 That I cannott refrayne. 56

(8)
 My last wyll here I make,
 To god my soule I be-take,
 And my wrechyd body
 As ert in a hole to lye; 60
 for vnkyndnes to kyle me,
 And putt me to this payne.
 Alas! what remedy?
 That I cannot refrayne. 64

(9)
 O harte, I the bequyeth
 To hyme that is my deth
 Yff that no harte haith he,
 my harte his schalbe, 68
 Thought vnkyndnes haith kyllyd
 me,
 And putt me to this payne.
 Yett if my body dye, [lf. 86 bk.]
 my hertt cannot refrayne! 72

(10)
 Placebo, dilexi!
 com, weype this obsequye,
 My mowrnarus¹ dolfully,
 come weype this psalmody 76
 of vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me
 and putt me to this payne.
 be-hold this wrechid body, 79
 that your vnkyndnes haith slayne!

(11)
 Now I be-sych alle ye,
 namely² that lovers be,
 my love my deth for-gyve,
 and soffer hyme to lye 84
 Thought vnkyndnes haith kyllyd
 me,
 And putt me to this payne.
 Yett haid I rether dye
 for his sake ons agayne. 88

(12)
 My tombe, ytt schalbe blewe,
 In tokyne that I was trewe
 To bringe my love frome dovte;
 Itt shalbe writtynge abowtte, 92
 That vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me,
 and putt me to this payne.
 be-hold this wrechid body [leaf 87.]
 That y^{or} vnkyndnes haith slayne!

(13)
 O lady, lerne by me,
 Sley nott love wylfully,
 for fer love waxyth denty,
 100
 vnkyndnes to kyle me,
 or putt love to this payne.
 I ware the, better dye
 for loves Sake a-gayne. 104

(14)
 Grevus Is my Soro,
 but deth ys my boro;
 ffor to my selfe a-lone
 Thus do I make my mone, 108
 That vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me,
 And passyd is my payne.
 prey for this ded body
 that y^{or} vnkyndnes haith slayne! 112

ffinis amen.

(78) Turne the, sueit ville, to me.

¹ (mourners) MS. mowrnarus.

² especially.

- (79) My lufe is lyand seik ;
 Send hym ioy, send hym ioy !
 [I suppose these 2 lines belong to one song.]
- (80) Fayr luf, lent thou me thy mantil ? ioy !
 [The original song is probably lost, but a ludicrous parody, in which the chorus is preserved, is well known in the South of Scotland. It begins,

Our guidman's away to the Mers
 Wi' the mantle, jo ! wi' the mantle jo !
 Wi' his breiks on his heid, and his bonnet on his ers,
 Wi' the merry merry mantle o' the green, jo !

Leyden, p. 279.]

- (81) The perssee & the mongumrye met.
 [This is line 117 of the modernized Scotch version of the ballad of "The Battle of Otterbourne," printed in *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, i. 354, and Prof. Child's *Ballads*, vii. 19, &c. :—

The Percy and Montgomery met,
 That either of other were fain ;
 They swapp'd swords, and they twa swat,
 And aye the blood ran down between.¹

The two verses before it have a suspiciously modern twang, and this verse seems to me a modern cooking of the earlier verse about Percy and Douglas :

English version.

Scotch version.

The Percy and the Douglas mette, That ether of other was fayne ; They schapp'd together, whyll that the swette, With swords of fyne collayne.	When Percy wi' the Douglas met, I wat he was fu' fain ; They swakk'd their swords, till sair they swat, And the blood ran down like rain.
---	---

But it may be one of the genuine repetitions that the old ballad writers often indulged in.

The oldest copy of the ballad that we have is that of the English version, in a MS. of about 1550 A.D., Cotton, Cleopatra C iv, leaf 64, and was printed by Percy in the fourth edition of his *Reliques*, instead of the later and less perfect copy that he had given in his earlier editions from the Harleian MS. 293, leaf 52. The English version says nothing of Sir Hugh Montgomery killing Percy, but only

Then was ther a Scottyshe prisoner tayne,
 Sir Hugh Montgomery was hys name. (l. 161-2.)

See the treatise by Mr. Robert White of Newcastle, on the Battle of Otterbourne, with appendix and illustrations, London, 1857, and his advertised 'History' of the battle.]

¹ In the differing and short version in Herd's *Scottish Songs*, i. 154 (ed. 1869), and Child's *Ballads*, vii. 177-180, where Douglas is killed by a little boy with a little penknife, the verse above runs thus

Then Percy and Montgomery met,
 And weel a wat they war na fain :
 They swapp'd swords, and they twa swat,
 And ay the blood ran down between. (lines 33-6.)

(82) That day, that day, that gentil day.

[In the Brit. Mus. Additional MS. 5465, leaf 108 back, is the following pretty song to which an authority in such matters has referred me as the same as ‘That day, that day, that gentil day’ in the *Complaynt* list; but the two are evidently different. The present song is perhaps in praise of the White Rose of Lancaster which, (for Edward IV) Adam of Cobsam praised in *The Wright’s Chaste Wife*, p. iv, p. 20.

This day day dawes,
this gentill day¹ dawes,
this gentill day dawes,
& I must home gone.

²In a glorius garden grene,
sawe I syttyng a comly quene,
a-mong þ^e flouris þat fresh byn.
She gaderd a floure, and sett be-twene.
þ^e lyly white rose me thouȝt I sawe,
& euer she sang
this day day dawes,
this gentill day dawes, *vt supra*.

In that garden be flouris of hew,
the gelofir gent þat she well knewe,
the floure de luce she did on rewe,
& said ‘the whiȝt rose is most trewe,
this garden to rule he ryztwis lawe.’
the lyly whyȝte rose me thought I sawe,
& euer She sang
this day day dawes,
this gentill day dawes, *vt supra*.

The notion that Prof. Child seems to have started (*Ballads* vii. 34, note), and that Mr. Hales sanctions (*Percy Fol. Bal. & Rom.* ii. 2), that the ‘That day, that day, that gentill day’ of the *Complaynt*, is a misquotation of “That day, that day, that dredfull day!” l. 99 of *The Hunting of the Cheviot*, and therefore means that *Ballad*, I cannot away with. For, l. 1. the *Complaynt* has already put *The Hunttis of Cheuet* in its list of “sueit sangis,” eight above “That day, that day, that gentil [or dredfull] day,” and would not, of course, repeat it: 2. Why should we suppose the careful writer of the *Complaynt* to have put “gentil” for “dredfull,” and thus made a double fool of himself, when the natural supposition that the ballad—like so many others in the list—has not come down to us, removes all difficulty? It is true that Dauneŷ (*Ancient Scottish Melodies*, Edinburgh, 1838, p. 53) runs the two lines together as part of one song or ballad.

The Persee & the Mongumrye met
That day, that day, that gentil day;

but if he is right, this must be a new ballad, and all prior critics have been wrong in identifying the first line with the *Battle of Oterbourne* ballad. Till the discovery of the new ballad, most of us will hold on to the old one, especially since ‘*That day*’ has 4 accents, as if it were a first line; though 4 accents often occur in second lines.]

¹ MS. day day.

² I take the words at the foot of the page.

- (83) My luf is laid apon ane knyecht.
 (84) Allace, that samyn sueit face!
 [Godlified in the *Godlie Ballates*, p. 56.]
 (85) In ane myrthtful morou.
 (86) My hart is leiuit [= left] on the land.

¶ Thir scheiphirdis ande there vyuis sang mony vthir melodius sangis, the quhilkis i hef nocht in memorie. than eftir this sueit celest armonye, tha began to dance in ane ring. euyrie ald scheiphird led his vyfe be the hand, aud euyrie zong scheiphird led byr quhome he luffit best. Ther vas viij scheiphirdis, and ilk ane of them hed ane syndry instrument to play to the laif. the fyrst hed ane drone bag pipe, the nyxt hed ane pipe maid of ane bleddir and of ane reid, the thrid playit on ane trump, the feyrd on ane corne pipe, the fyft playit on ane pipe maid of ane gait horne, the sext playit on ane recordar¹, the seuint plait on ane fiddil, and the last plait on ane quhissil. kyng amphion that playit sa sueit on his harpe quhen he keptit his scheip, nor zit appollo the god of sapiens, that keptit kyng admetus scheip, vitht his sueit menstralye, none of thir tua playit mayr cureouslye nor did thir viij scheiphirdis befor rehersit; nor zit al the scheiphirdis that virgil makkis mention in his bucolikis, thai culd nocht be comparit to thir foir said scheiphirdis; nor orpheus that playit sa sueit quhe he socht his vyf in hel, his playing prefferit nocht thir foir said scheiphirdis; nor zit the scheiphird pan, that playt to the goddis on his bag pype, nor mercurius that playit on ane sey reid, none of them culd preffer thir foirsaid scheiphirdis. i beheld neuyr ane mair delectabil recreatione. for fyrst thai began vitht tua bekkis and vitht a kysse. euripides, iuenaal, perseus, horasse, nor nane of the satiric poiettis, quhilkis mouit ther bodeis as thai hed bene dansand quhen thai pronoucit ther tragiedeis, none of them keptit moir geometrial mesure nor thir scheiphirdis did in ther dansing. Nor ludius, that vas the fyrst dansar of rome, culd nocht hef bene comparit to thir scheiphirdis. it vas ane celest recreation to behald ther lycht lopene, galmouding², stendling³ bakuart & forduart dansand base dansis⁴,

¹ See p. 9 (note 7).

² gambolling.

³ striding.

⁴ [Douce, B. 507. (Bodl. Libr.)]

The introductory to wryte and to pronounce Frenche compyled by
 Alexander Barclay. Lond. 1521, 4^o.

[leaf 16.] ¶ Here foloweth the maner of dauncynge of bace daunces after the vse of fraunce & other places translated out of frenche in englysshe by Robert coplande.

FOr to daunce any bace daunce there behoueth .iiii. paces / that is to wite syngle / double: repryse / & braule. And ye ought fyrst to make reuerence towarde the lady / & than make .ii. syngles .i. double / a reprysc / & a

braule. And this rule ye ought alway to kepe at *the* beginnyng / as it is sayd. And somtyme is made .ii. syngles after the doubles / & before the reprints / & that is done when *the* measures ben parfite. Also when ony songe or daunce is wryten. R. betokeneth reuerence. By .ss. double betokeneth .ii. syngle paces / & by .d. betokeneth .i. double pace. And yf there be .ddd. ye ought to make .iii. doubles after as *the* daunce requyreth / for somtyme is made but .i. double / & somtime .iii. or .v. one after another / and therefore is dddd. thus wryten. And when .3. is wryten it betokeneth / re pryse. & yf .333. be wryten it signyfieth .iii. re pryses / & .3333. betokeneth fiue. For ye ought neuer to make .ii. nor .iiii. togyder / nor of the doubles also / for *the* doubles & the re pryses ben euer odde in nombre. ¶ Also all bace daunces begyn by syngles or reuerence / and ende with braule. ¶ Also it behoueth to knowe the nombre of notes of euery bace daunce / & the paces after *the* measure *of the notes. Therefore ye ought to wyte *that* fyrst ye [leaf 166.] ought to make reuerence with *the* lyfte fote / & than a braule with *the* right fote / than two syngle paces / the fyrst with *the* lyfte fote and the seconde with *the* ryght fote in goynge forwarde / & ye must reyse your body.

¶ The fyrst double pace is made with *the* lyft fote in reysynge the body steppynge .iii. pace forwarde lyghtly / the fyrst with *the* lyfte fote / the seconde with *the* ryght fote / & the thyrd with *the* lyft fote / as the fyrst.

¶ The seconde double pace begynneth with *the* ryght fote goynge thre paces forwarde as is sayd of *the* fyrst in reysynge *the* body. &c.

¶ The thyrd double pace is done as *the* first.

¶ It is to note *that* there be neuer .ii. double paces togyder / for *the* doubles & re pryses be euer odde in nombre .i. .iii. or .v. &c.

¶ A re pryse alone ought to me made with *the* ryght fote in drawynge the ryght fote bakwarde a lytyll to the other fote.

¶ The seconde re pryse ought to be made (when ye make .iii. at ones) with *the* lyft fote in reysynge the body in lyke wyse.

¶ The thyrd re pryse is made in place and as the fyrst also.

¶ And merke for all that is sayd that euery of these paces occupyeth as moche tyme *the* one as the other. That is to wyte. a reuerence / one note. a double / one note. two syngles one note. a re pryse / one note. a braule / one note.

¶ And ye ought to wyte *that* in some places of fraunce they call *the* re pryses / desmarches and the braule they call / conge. in englysshe leue.

¶ This done / ye ought to put in wrytynge for a re pryse thus .3. & for thre re pryses thus 333 / and for the braule thus .b.

¶ Bace daunces.

¶ Filles a marier / with .iiii. measures.

R. b. ss. ddd. 333. b.	} Unparfyte.
ss. d. 333. b.	
ss. ddd. ss. 333. b.	} Parfyte.
ss. d. ss. 333. b.	

¶ Le petit rouen / with .iiii. measures.

R. b. ss. dddd. ss. 333. b.	} Parfyte
ss. d. ss. 333. b.	
ss. dddd. ss. 333. b.	
ss. ddd. ss. 333. b.	

¶ Amours. with two measures.

R. b. ss. d. ss. 333. b.	} Parfyte.
ss. ddd. ss. 333. b.	

pauuans¹, galzardis², turdions³, braulis⁴ and branglis, buffons⁵, vitth mouy vthir lycht dancis, the quhilk ar ouer prolix to be rehersit.

¶ La gorriere / thre measures.

R. b. ss. ddd. 333. b. Unparfyte.
 ss. d. 3. b.
 ss. ddd. 333. b.

¶ La allemande. thre measures.

R. b. ss. ddd. ss. 333. b. } Parfyte.
 ss. d. ss. 3. b. }
 ss. ddd. 3. b. Unparfyte.

¶ La brette / foure measures.

R. b. ss. d. ss. 3. b.
 ss. d. 3. b. Half parfyte.
 ss. ddd. 3. b.
 ss. d. ss. 3. b.

¶ La royne / foure measures.

R. b. ss. ddd. 3. b. Unparfyte.
 ss. d. 3. b.
 ss. ddd. 3. b. Parfyte.
 ss. d. ss. 3. b.

¶ These daunces haue I set at the ende of this boke to thentent that every lerner of the sayd boke after theyr dylygent study may reioyce somewhat theyr spyrytes honestly in eschewynge of ydlenesse the portresse of vyces.

¶ Imprynted at London in the Fletestrete at the sygne of the rose Garlande by Robert coplande. the yere of our lorde. M. CCCC. xxi. the xxii. day of Marche.

END.

¹ Puttenham speaks of 'Songs . . . such as might be sung with voice . . . or danced by measures, as the Italian *pavan* and *galliard* are at these daies [15] in Princes' courts, and the places of honourable or civil assembly' (*Art of Poesie*, p. 27, Haslewood's reprint). *Pavana*, according to Italian writers, was derived from *Paduana*,—and not from *Pavo* a peacock.' *Pop. Mus.* ii. 772. "Morley says 'The *pavan* for grave dancing: *galliards*, which usually follow *pavans*, they are for a lighter and more stirring kind of dancing.' . . . Baker, in his *Principles of Musick*, 1636, 'says 'Of this sort (the Ionic mood) are *pavans*, invented for a slow and soft kind of dancing, altogether in duple proportion [common time]. Unto which are framed *galliards* for more quick and nimble motion, always in triple proportion: and therefore the triple is oft called *galliard* time, and the duple, *pavan* time. In this kind is also comprehended the infinite multitude of *Ballads*, set to sundry pleasant and delightful tunes by cunning and witty composers, with *country dances* fitted unto them, . . . and which surely might and would be more freely permitted by our sages, were they used, as they ought [to be], only for health and recreation.' [p. 8] At this time Puritanism was nearly at its height." *Pop. Mus.* i. 157.

² The *Galliard* is the only one of these dances mentioned in a late English list of "Nine sorts of common Dances always used: Salingers round, Bobbin-jo, Jingle-de-cut, Bodkings *Galliard*, the madmans Morris, Drunken Barnaby, the Bedfull of bones, room for Cuckolds, and the Lankishire hornpipe." *The Figure of Nine*. Printed for J. Deacon and C. Dennison. ? temp. Charles II. The *galliard* was not introduced into England till about 1541 A.D. It is

zit nochtheles i sal rehers sa mony as my ingyne can put in memorie. in the fyrst, thai daucit,

(87) Al cristyn mennis dance.

(88) The northt of scotland.

(89) Huntis vp.

[This is a lively English tune well fitted for dancing, printed in Mr. Chappell's *Popular Music*, i. 60, with much information about the tune and the various words to it. The reader will find a reprint of the first mention of the tune in my *Ballads from Manuscripts* for the Society, vol. i, p. 310. This was “in 1537 when information was sent to the Council against one John Hogon, who had offended against the proclamation of 1533, which was issued to suppress ‘fond books, ballads, rhimes, and other lewd treatises in the English tongue,’ by singing ‘with a crowd or a fyddyll’ a political song to that tune.” (*Pop. Mus.* i. 60.)

Of William Gray—“one Gray, what good estimation did he grow vnto with the same king Henry [VIII], and afterward with the Duke of Sommerset, Protectour, for making certaine merry Ballades, whereof one chiefly was *The huntc it [= is] vp, the hunte is vp*”—the reader will find some Birthday Verses to Somerset in my said *Ballads*, p. 311. Religious parodies of *The Hunt is up* are printed at the end of Mr. Halliwell's edition of the moral play of *Wit and Science*, from the Addit. MS. Brit. Mus. 15,233, and in the *Godlie Ballates*, p. 153, ed. D. Laing, 1868: “With huntis vp, with huntis vp.” Any song intended to arouse in the morning, even a love-song, was formerly called a *hunt's-up*. Chappell.]

(90) The comout entray.

(91) Lang plat fut of gariaw.

(92) Robene hude.

[Captain Cox XXII, p. li. ? Does the translator of the *Roman de la Rose* refer to this dance:

But haddest thou knowen hym beforene,
Thow woldest on a booke have sworne,
Whan thou hym saugh in thylke araye,
That he, that whylome was so gaye,

mentioned in the ballad of John de Reeve, in the *Percy Folio Bal. & Rom.* ii. 579, l. 529. Cotgrave has ‘*Galop gaillard*. The Gallop Galliard; or a Passasalto; or, one pace and a leap;’ and ‘*Balladinerie*: f. High, or lively dancing, as of *Galliards*, Corantoes, or Jigges.’

³ *Tourdion* the daunce tearmed a Round. Cotgrave.

⁴ Webbe mentions *brawls*, as well others of the *Complaynt* dances: “neither is there anie tune or stroke which may be sung or plaide on instruments, which hath not some poetical ditties framed according to the numbers thereof: some to Rogero, some to Trenchmore, to downe right Squire, to *Galliardes*, to *Pauines*, to Iygges, to *Brawles*, to all manner of tunes which euerie Fidler knowes better then my selfe.” 1586. W. Webbe. *A Discourse of English Poetrie*, p. 61, ed. 1870.

⁵ *Dancer les Buffons*. To daunce a morris. *Buffon*: m. A buffoon, ieaster sycophant, merrie fool, sportfull companion; one that liues by making others merrie. Cotgrave.

*And of the daunce Jolly Robyn*¹,
Was tho become a Jacobyn.

Romaunt of the Rose (? Chaucer's) l. 7455.

Cotgrave has '*Chanson de Robin*, a merrie and extemporall song, or fashion of singing, whereto one is ever adding somewhat, or may at pleasure adde what he list. . .'

In 1550, Robert Crowley, in his *Voyce of the last Trumpet* (sign. B. ii.), says to 'the lewde or vnlearned priest,'

Geue ouer all thy tippillyng,
Thy tauerne gate, and table playe,
Thy cardes, thy dice, and wyne bibyng,
And learne to walke a sobre waye. . .

But if thou canste do any good,
In teachyng of an A. B. C.
A primar, or else *Robynhode* :
Let that be good pastyme for the.

The old puritan printer and preacher was not, then, a condemner of ballads.]

(93) Thom of lyn.

[Leyden quotes at p. 274, a verse from Forbes's Aberdeen Cantus:—

The pypers drone was out of tune,
Sing *Young Thomlin*,
Be merry, be merry, and twise so merrie,
With the light of the moon.

I suppose this to be the English ballad licensed later to Mr. John Wallye and Mr. Toye in 1557-8, *Stationers' Register* A, leaf 22, (Collier's *Stat. Reg.* i. 4), and quoted by Moros in Wager's Interlude above, p. cxxvii.]

(94) Freris al.

(95) Ennyrnes [= Inverness, Gael. *Ionar nis*].

(96) The loch of slene [= Slyne].

(97) The gosseps dance.

(98) Lewis grene.

[see No. (51), p. cl.]

(99) Makky.

(100) The speyde.

(101) The flail.

(102) The lammes vynde.

(103) Soutra.

[Soutra or Soultra edge forms the watershed between the Forth and the Tweed; and Soutra is a small hamlet on the ridge, on the highroad from Edinburgh to Lauder. *Soutra*, separates the *South countrie* from Lothian.—J. A. H. Murray.]

¹ The French original is

Que cil qui devant soloit estre
De la dance li biaux Robins.

- (104) Cum kyttil me naykyt vantounly.
 (105) Schayke leg fut befor gossep.
 (106) Rank at the rute.
 (107) Baglap and al.
 (108) Ihonne ermistrangis dance.

[The earliest ballad that we have on Johnny Armstrong is an English one, but Mr. Wm. Chappell has not yet found the tune of it. The words are in *Wit restored*, 1658, and in *Wit and Drollery, Jovial Poems*, 1682, called “A Northern Ballet,” beginning :

‘There dwelt a man in fair Westmoreland,
 Johnny Armstrong men did him call;
 He had neither lands nor rents coming in,
 Yet he kept eight score men in his hall.’

Popular Music, i. 260, note.

Another English ballad about this hero is entitled “Johnny Armstrong’s last Good-night; shewing how John Armstrong with his eight-score men fought a bloody battle with the Scotch king at Edenborough, *To a pretty Northern Tune.*” A copy is in the Bagford Collection (643, m. 10, p. 94) printed by and for W. O[nley]; also in *Old Ballads*, 1727, i. 170, and in Evans’s *Old Ballads*, 1810, iii. 101.’ *Pop. Mus.* ii. 776.

But the *Complaynt* dance must have been one named in honour of the great Border plunderer Johnie Armstrong of Gilnockie, who was hung¹ by James V. soon after that king attained his majority in 1524, and about whom Allan Ramsay published a ballad in his *Evergreen*, which he says he took down from the recitation of a gentleman of the name of Armstrong, who was the sixth in descent from the hero. It was printed too in the ‘Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border,’ in R. Chambers’s *Scottish Ballads*, p. 35, &c., &c. How much of the ballad is Ramsay’s writing, no one knows. ‘Jock o’ the Syde was another Armstrong, and there’s a third Johnie Armstrong in ‘Dick o’ the Cow:’ see the Ballads in *Chambers*, p. 40, 46.

In R. Chambers’s *Scottish Songs*, ii. 528, is also an ‘Armstrong’s Good-night’ cookt up from two bits of four lines each found by Burns. He, being a poet, left the bits as he found them. When will his countrymen learn to follow his example, and keep their meddling fingers off their old singers’ remains?]

- (109) The alman haye.

[The *Almayne* or German haye. The *Hay* was a country-dance, of which the reel was a variety. “In Sir John Davies’s *Orchestra*, ‘He taught them rounds and winding heys to tread.’ (In the margin he explains ‘rounds and winding-heys’ to be country dances.) In *The Dancing Master* the hey is one of the figures of most frequent occurrence. In one country-dance, ‘the women stand still, the men going the hey between them.’ This is evidently winding in and out. In another, two men

¹ See, in Lyndesay’s *Satyre* (ed. E. E. T. Soc.) p. 454, l. 2092-4

Heir is ane coird baith great and lang—
 Quhilk hangit *Johne the Armistrang*—
 Of gude hemp, soft and sound.

Mr. Murray says that ‘Johne the’ is an error for ‘Johnye.’

and one woman dance the hey—like a reel. In a third, three men dance this hey, and three women at the same time—like a double reel. In *Dargason*, where many stand in one long line, the direction is 'the single hey, all handing as you pass, till you come to your places.' When the hand was given in passing, it was always so directed; but the hey was more frequently danced without 'handing.' In 'the square dance,' the two opposite couples dance the single hey twice to their places, the woman standing before her partner at starting. When danced by many in a circle, if hands were given, it was like the 'grande chaîne' of a quadrille." *Pop. Mus.* ii. 629.]

(110) The bace of voragon.

(111) Daugeir.

(112) The beye.

(113) The dede dance.

[Not known, I believe, in Scotland; but it is, no doubt, either the tune referred to in *Hawkins* (see below) or 'The Doleful Dance and Song of Death,' of which the tune, and a late Ballad, are printed by Mr. Chappell in his *Popular Music*, i. 85. 'The tune is also called 'The Shaking of the Sheet,' and 'is frequently mentioned by writers in the 16th and 17th centuries, both as a country dance and as a ballad tune.' In the recently-discovered play of *Misogonus*, produced about 1560, *The Shaking of the Sheets*, *The Vicar of St. Fools*, and *the Catching of Quails*, are mentioned as country dances. . . The tune is also mentioned in Lilly's *Pappe with a Hatchet*, 1589; in Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579; by Rowley, Middleton, Taylor the water-poet, Marston, Massinger, Heywood, Dekker, Shirley, &c., &c. 'There are two tunes under this name, the one in William Ballet's *Lute-Book*, which is the same as [that] printed by Sir John Hawkins in his *History of Music* (vol. ii. p. 934, 8vo edit.); the other, and in all probability the more popular one, is contained in numerous publications from *The Dancing Master* of 1650-51, to the *Vocal Enchantress* of 1783.' *Pop. Mus.* i. 84.]

(114) The dance of kylryne.

(115) The vod and the val.

(116) Schaik a trot.

Than, quhen this dansing vas dune, tha departit and past to cal there scheip to ther scheip cottis. thai blen vp there bagpipis. than the bel veddir for blythtues bleyttit rycht fast, and the rammis raschit there heydis to gyddir. than the laif of ther fat flokkis follouit on the fellis, baytht zouis and lammis, kebbis¹, and dailis², gylmyrs³ and dilmondis⁴, and mony berueist hog⁵. than i departit fra that companye.

¹ ewes, the lambs of which have died soon after being produced.

² ewes which miss conceiving and are fattened for eating.

³ ewes two years old.

⁴ wethers more than twelve months old.

⁵ hog, a young sheep before it has lost its first fleece, termed *harvest-hog* from being smeared at the end of harvest, when it ceases to be called a lamb. *Leyden*.

The list of Songs in the *Complaynt* is so much longer than that in *Laneham's Letter* that some readers might suspect that Scotland was far richer in ballads and songs¹ in the 17th century, than England; but a perusal of Mr. Win. Chappell's *Popular Music* will soon cure them of this opinion. Pre-Reformation Scotland was, no doubt, as prolific of songs and ballads—relatively to its population—as England. Andrew Boorde says that the Scotchmen (of about 1540 A.D.) “be hardy men, and well fauored, and stronge men, & good musycyons; in these .iiii. qualytès they be moost lyke, aboue all other nacions, to an Englyshe man.” (*Introduction*, p. 137, ed. F. J. F. 1870.) The ballads of one country were sung in the other: at least 7 of the Scotch list are English ballads: two of Captain Cox's are possibly Scotch, or at least Northern. Compare, too, in the extract that Daunev gives, in his *Ancient Scottish Melodies*, from the accounts of the Lords High Treasurers,

- 1489, Jul. 10. Item, to Inglis pyparis that cum to the castel yet, and playit to the king, viij. li.² viij. s.
 1491, Aug. 21. Item to iiij. Inglis pyparis, viij. unicorns, vij. li. iiij. s.
 1503, Aug. 13. Item to viij Inglis menstrales, be the kingis command, xl. french crownis, xxviiij. l.
 Item, to the trumpetis of England, xxviiij. l.
 Item, to the Erle of Oxfordis tua menstrales, xxviiij. l.
 1504. Item, to tua Englyse wemen that sang in the Kingis pailzeoune, xxiiij. s.

But after the Reformation, the ballad-life was crusht out of Scotland, though it flourisht in England. Knox's followers discouraged ballads and music by every means in their power, and procured the passing of a series of Acts, punishing the singers of ballads. Here are a few samples, sent me by Mr. Wm. Chappell, from Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*:

In 1574. “Pipers, fiddlers, and minstrels are unceremoniously classed together as vagabonds, and threatened with severe penalties, should they venture into the city” [of Glasgow] “in contraven-

¹ All ballads are songs, because they are meant to be sung; but all songs are not ballads, because songs proper are not verse narratives meant for the common people, and meant for recitation as much as music, as ballads are, but lyrical expressions of feeling, meant only to be sung. A *balade* was originally a poem of three stanzas, all having the same burden, followed by an Envoy.

² A Scotch pound was a crown, of 5s.

tion of the act."—Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, V. 1, p. 92.

An. 1574. "At this date he" [the Regent Morton] "induced the Privy Council to issue an edict that 'nane tak upon hand to emprent or sell whatsoever book, ballet, or other werk,' without its being examined and licensed, under pain of *death, & confiscation of goods.*"—(*Ditto*, p. 94.)

12 Aug. 1579. "Twa poets of Edinburgh, remarking some of his [the Earl of Morton's] sinistrous dealing, did publish the same to the people, by a famous libel written against him; & Morton, hearing of this, causit the men to be brought to Stirling, where they were convict for slandering ane of the king's councillors, & were there baith hangit. The names of the men were William Turnbull, schoolmaster in Edinburgh, and William Scot, notar. They were baith weel beloved of the common people for their common offices."—(*Quoted in ditto*, p. 125.)

"At the fall of Morton, less than two years after, when he was taken prisoner and conducted to Edinburgh Castle, as he passed the Butter Tron, a woman who had her husband put to death at Stirling for a ballad entitled *Daff, & dow nothing* [as much as to say, 'Sport, and be at your ease'] sitting down on her bare knees, poured out many imprecations upon him."—(*Ditto*, same page.)

[*Still* 1579.] "The estates passed an act against 'strang and idle beggars,' and 'sic as make themselves fules, and are bards,' . . . 'minstrels, sangsters, and tale tellers, not avowed in special service by some of the lords of parliament or great burghs,' and vagabond *scholars of the universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen.*" "Two poets hanged in August, and an act of Parliament against bards and minstrels in October; truly, it seems to have been sore times for the tuneful tribe."—(*Ditto*, p. 131.)

THE BALLAD OF "BALOW."

While on the subject of English and Scotch Ballads, I take the opportunity of printing the only two known hitherto-unprinted copies of *Balow*, which Mr. David Laing of Edinburgh has been kind enough to send me from Pinkerton's 4to. MS.¹ that now belongs to him. One of these copies, '*Palmer's Balow*,' is a ver-

¹ This is the MS. of which Ritson says in his *Scottish Songs*, vol. i. p. cix, note (108), "The editor of *Select Scottish ballads* pretends, that in a quarto manuscript in his possession, 'containing a collection of poems, by different hands, from the reign of queen Elizabeth to the middle of the last [17th] century, when it was apparently written, there are two *balowes*, as they are there stiled, the first, *The balow, Allon*, the second, *Palmer's balow.*'"

sion of the genuine old *Balow*; the other, '*The Balow: Allane*,' is a poorer and later affair. See Evans's *Old Ballads*, 1810, 'the New Balow.'

The cause of my asking Mr. Laing for these copies, was this. In the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, vol. iii. p. 516-523, we printed for the first time the only three MS. copies of the genuine *Balow* that had ever been in type in an uncookt state¹. In the Introduction to the ballad, p. 518-19, Mr. Wm. Chappell stated that *Balow* was a 16th century ballad, not a 17th; that it was English, not Scotch; and that Watson in Part III. of his *Comic and Serious Scots Poems*, Edinburgh, 1713, was the first to claim for Lady Anne Bothwell 'the particular honour of having been the wench of' his version of 'The new Balow; or, a Wenches Lamentation for the loss of her Sweetheart: he having left her a babe to play with, being the fruits of her folly.' Mr. Chappell further showed on the evidence of one of two stanzas added in Watson's Scotch version, and not in any English copy, that it was ridiculous to suppose that this Scotch addition, or the poem in which it was found, referred to Lady Anne Bothwell or any lady of rank. "In the second [stanza] we find the inducement supposed to have been offered by Lady Anne's lover:

I was too credulous at the first
To grant thee that a maiden durst,
And in thy bravery thou didst vaunt
That I no maintenance should want [!]"

Out of Watson's own mouth then, *his* attribution of the Ballad, at any rate, to Lady Anne Bothwell, was shown to be absurd. But this pricking of the Bothwell bubble by Mr. Chappell raised the bile of either Messrs. Ogle of Glasgow, or some shopman of theirs whom they employed to write notes to their new reprint of Watson's *Collection* in 1868; and in a very impertinent tone the said shopman attacked Mr. Chappell and his argument. The man seems to have felt acutely that Scotland's honour had been wounded by a little truth; 'yet he knew so little of his subject as to suppose Evans's *Collection of Old Ballads*, printed in 1811, of equal date and authority with the originals in the Roxburghe *Collection*.' It is needless to say that he does not move an inch Mr. Chappell's strong point, that the tune of *Balow*,—which

¹ Of the Percy Folio copy, I hold the 5th and 6th stanzas to be clearly later insertions.

implies the words—is in two 16th century English music-books, and that both tune and words are in two other English music-books of 1649 and 1658, while the words are in Bp. Percy's Folio MS. of, say, 1645-50. Against this, the only Scotch evidence is the report that Mr. Kirkpatrick Sharpe (Walter Scott's contemporary) said he had heard that the Ballad applied to Lady Anne Bothwell. This rumour is not worth serious notice. The appearance of the ballad in Pinkerton's 4to MS. belonging to Mr. Laing, —which he considers, as Pinkerton did, to be of about 1650—so far from being evidence in favour of the Scotch origin of the ballad, is against it; for, says Mr. Laing, "There is nothing in the MS to indicate when or where it was written." Had it been written in Scotland, the Scotch mark of dialect at least, if not of handwriting, would have been unmistakeably on the MS. That being absent, we may safely conclude that the MS is English, as the ballad of *Balow* is. Even if we grant the *à priori* probability that a woman's lament over her seduction and desertion would belong to Scotland, the MS. evidence is yet clearly in favour of the ballad being English, as its language is. But annexed ballads, like annexed territories, and stolen waters, are sweet: and doubtless Scotch balladists will not be ready to give up *Balow*. The most profitable question hereafter will be, who shall gain the best title to it by admiring it most, for 'singularly beautiful,' 'most touching,' it is.

PALMER'S BALOW.

[*Pinkerton MS.* 4to p. 48. *On the margin Pinkerton writes "Lady Bothwell's Lament. Ball. 2. 194."*]

Balow my babe, ly still and sleepe!
 It greves me sore to see thé weepe!
 If thow wert quyet, I wold be glade;
 Thy murneinge makes thy mother sade!
 Balow, my boy, thy mother's ioy;
 Thy father bred me great annoy!
 Balow!

¹And thow, my darleinge, sleep awhyle,
 And when thow waikest, sueetlie smyle!
 O doe not smyle as thy father did
 To Cousinge² maides: nay God forbid!

¹ This stanza is like the third of the Addit. MS. 10, 337.

² cozen.

But yet I feare that thow wilt leare¹
Thy father's face and hart to¹ beare :
Balow !

²When he begane to court my loue,
And with his sugared wordes to move,
His fained tongue and flattering cheare
That tyme to me did not apeire ;
But now I see that crevell³ he
Caires nather for my babe nor me.
Balow !

Fairweell, fairweell, the falsest youthe
That ever kist a womans mouthe !
Let never maiden efter me
Commit hir to thy curtasie !
For crevell⁴ thow, if once she howe,
Wilt her abuse ; thow caires not how.
Balow !

I cannot chuse, but ever will
Be loueing to thy father still,
Though cuninge he procured my hart,
That can in no wayes from him pairt.
In weell or woe, whare ere he goe,
My hart sall never pairt him fro !
Balow !

⁵Heir, by my greeff, I wowe and sueare,
Thé, and all vthers, to forbear.
I'le never kise, nor cull, nor clape,
But lull my younglinge in my lape.
Hart, doe not greeve ! leave off to murne !
And sleepe securelie, hart, allone !
[Balow.]

[*Pinkerton's 4to MS. p. 46. His scarcely legible note in the margin says: "This in Ramsay is mingled with the following (Palmer's Balow) except a few stanzas."*]

THE BALOW. ALLANÉ.

Balow my babe, frowne not on me,
Who still will weepe for wronginge thé,
Till from myne eyes a sea sall flow,
To saile my soule from mortall woe
To that immortall mirtall shore,
Where greeff slane ghosts can greeve no more.
Balow, Balow, Balow, Balow !

¹ better readings than the *heare* and *still* of the Addit. MS. 10, 37.

² This is the 2nd stanza of the Addit. MS. copy.

³ cruel.

⁴ for crewell, cruel.

⁵ Marginal note by Pinkerton: "Wanting in Dr. Percy's edition." It's in both Gamble's copy and the Addit. MS. 10,337. *Percy Fol. Bal. & Rom.* ii. 516-17.

The Ballad of "Balow."

Be still my sad-one! spare those teares
 To weepe when thou hast witt and yeares!
 Thy greeffs are gatheringe to a sum,
 God send thé patience when they cum!
 Borne to Bewails a father's shame,
 A Mother's fall, a bastard's name!
 Balow &c.

Balow, my deare! thy feathles dade,
 When he thé prodigall had mead,
 Of gudes and oathes regairdles, he
 Preferr'd the warrs to thé and me;
 Whare now, perhaps, thy curse and myne
 Makes him eate accornes with the swyne.
 Balow!

Yet peace, my comfort! curse not him,
 Who now in sea of greeff doth sweim,
 Perhaps of death, for who can tell,
 Wither the iudge of heavin and hell
 By some predest[i]ned deadlie lead,
 Revengeinge me, hath struke him dead?
 Balow!

And were I neir the fattall boundes
 Where he lyes gaspinge in his woundes;
 Repeatinge, as he pantes for breath,
 Hir name, that woundes more desp then death,
 And therwith dies: what hart so stronge
 But wold forgieue the greatest wronge?
 Balow!

If lining¹ lack, for that loues sake
 Which once I bore him I wold make
 My smoake vnto his body meit,
 A[nd] wrap him in that winding sheet!
 Ay me! how hapy had I bein
 If he had neir bein wrap't therin!
 Balow!

Balow, my babe! when thou hast ycares,
 Forget thy Mother, scorne hir teares,
 Thy birth denay, thy freindes deride,—
 It's but a courtlie trick of pryde,—
 Then mayest thou ryse, my sone, to be
 A courtier, by disclameinge me.
 Balow!

The copy of *Balow* in Ritson's *Scottish Songs*, i. 158, ed. 1794, like that in Herd's *Scottish Songs, etc.*, i. 65, ed. 1869, is in 13 stanzas, 9 of which are spurious; that in Pinkerton's *Select*

¹ for linnen.

Scottish Ballads, i. 59, has only 4 verses, the last being spurious, and all scotified.

I have now ended the list of work I set myself: to sketch hastily the stories of the books and ballads on which an Englishman of Shakespere's class and time tells us he was trained, and contrast them with those of a more educated Scotchman of a generation earlier. Of the Ballads of England the history has been written by Mr. Wm. Chappell. The Ballads of Scotland have, unluckily, not yet found their Chappell, so far as I know¹, the man who will honestly give us chapter and verse for every assertion, will go no further than his authorities warrant, and will expose the falsifications and forgeries of the men who have tampered with and invented many of their old ballads, real and unreal. Honest prints of all their old musical and ballad MSS.—however few—are much wanted, as these are evidence. We've had enough of Allan Ramsay, Watson, Buchan, and Co.

To trace the history of Kenilworth is no part of my task²—for that I refer to Dugdale, and the many copiers of him: as for its present state, I refer to Mr. Knowles's excellent photographs in his new edition of *Laneham*: to discuss the character of Leicester or his great Queen Elizabeth—great in spite of all her littlenesses—I do not purpose, much as I like to fancy our aftercomers setting Victorian England by the side of Elizabethan, and judging it worthy to be there. But, having spent this spring and summer in the sunshine and the glad light green of our fair native land, I cannot but dwell a while, in thought at least, on the bright days of our author during his happy stay in Warwickshire, a county lit for us all by a light of glory kindled in his time, and that will never die so long as our race lasts. Truly one understands the German soldier's quiet words to his comrade lately on the Rhine: "We are not worthy to be a nation, if we let the French take this from us." So felt the Elizabethans when the Armada was near; so the Georgians when the first Napoleon threatened; so the

¹ Of course I trust Mr. Laing and Mr. Maidment.

² I add in an Appendix, p. 63, the Survey of Kenilworth in Henry VIII's time, from the Cotton MS. Vespasian, F ix. It's in Dugdale, etc.

Victorian volunteers when the Colonels of the third Napoleon planned to plunder London. But what are our 170,000 to the two millions wanted? Where is our statesman to make us an armed nation? Where is our Moltke to organize our defence? May the splendid example that Prussian patriotism has set us, teach us to make sure, that a like fate to that which awaits Louis Napoleon's soldiers shall meet the foe that sets 'one foot¹' on our soil!

EGHAM,
August 21, 1870.

P.S.—The proof of the forgotten lines above comes on March 31, 1871, and makes me glad that I did not doubt Germany's triumph, much as I grieve over the present state of Paris. But, to return to Laneham:—

In exchange for the use of my description of Captain Cox's books, Mr. Knowles has been kind enough to give the Society copies of his map or plan of Kenilworth, reengraved from *Kenilworth Illustrated*, in order that our Members may be able to follow on it Laneham's description of the place. Mr. Knowles has also given us the following note on Elizabeth's reception at the Castle. She entered by the North-west Gate, from Warwick:—

“Besides postern gates (through the North-western one of which the Queen crossed ‘the fayr tymbred bridge,’ on July 11, 1575, ‘too huut the Hart of fors’) there were not more than two entrance-gates to the Castle.

1. The fine portal under the keep opened originally on to the Redfen Lane. But it was now reduced in importance by Leicester, who, to make the Castle garden *private*, had shifted the great north entrance eastward, building his new stately Gateway near Lunn's Tower (see map), and forming aviaries in the Northern towers of the outer wall (see below).

2. Elizabeth came into the Castle by the entrance from Warwick, which was less altered. The floodgate or Gallery Tower had been rebuilt by Leicester, who had also (probably) widened the great dam, and made a broadish roadway on it.

¹ The French boast after Saarbruck.

The map will show Mortimer's Tower, an interesting building (1200-1223), which Leicester had left untouched. Here the Lady of the Lake meets Elizabeth, who, having thanked her, passes through to the eastern gateway close under Cæsar's Tower, along the edge of the original Norman ditch, which was now 'a dry valley.' Part of this fosse happily yet remains, as is said below, though Hawkesworth, when he dismantled the Castle (ab. 1650), filled up two-thirds of it with the wreck of Henry the Eighth's building."

P.P.S.—Since these lines were written, *i. e.* during the present year (1871), the foundations and some exceedingly fine fragments of a third chapel have been discovered. It stood in the lower or Eastern outer Bailey; and its dimensions were about 100 feet by 50 (outside measurement). A jamb-base of the Sedilia and a simple string-course are still in site. All that has been found is of rather Early Decorated work, say about 1330 A.D. Edward III was at Kenilworth in December, 1329, as a charter granted to the Cistercian Abbey at Stoneleigh proves.—E. H. K.

NOTES TO FOREWORDS.

Page x.—The first modern edition of Laneham's *Letter* was printed at Warwick in 1784.

2. In Nichols's *Progresses of Q. Eliz.* vol. i., 1788.

3. Printed for G. H. Burn in 1821.

4. In *Kenilworth Illustrated*, 1821.

5. Again in 2nd edit. vol. i. of Nichol's *Prog. of Q. E.* (1823).

6. A reprint of Burn's edit. in *Kenilworth Festivities* in 1825.

7. Hotten's modernised reprint.

8. Amye Robsart and the Earl of Leicester; a Critical Inquiry into the Authenticity of the various Statements in relation to the Death of Amye Robsart, and of the Libels on the Earl of Leicester, with a vindication of the Earl by his nephew Sir Philip Sydney, with a History of Kenilworth Castle, including an account of the Splendid Entertainment given to Queen Elizabeth by the Earl of Leicester, in 1575, from the Works of Robert Laneham and George Gascoigne; together with Memoirs and Correspondence of Sir Robert Dudley, Son of the Earl of Leicester. By GEORGE ADLARD, author of "The Sutton-Dudleys of England," &c. 8vo, pp. 368, with plates, cloth. 12s.

Nichols, in the 2nd ed. of *Q. E. Prog.*, extracts nearly the whole of Burn's Preface and most of Burn's notes, with an acknowledgment.

Page xi. *Progresses*.—Here is Hall's account of Henry VIII's first, in 1510:—

"From thence the whole Courte remoued to Wyndesore, than begynnyng his progresse, exercisynge hym self daily in shoting, singing, daunsyng, wrastelyng, casting of the barre, playng at the recorders, flute, virginals, and in setting of songes, makynge of balettes, & dyd set .ii. goodly masses, euery of them fyue partes, whiche were sange oftentimes in hys chapel, and afterwarde in diuerse other places. And whan he came to Okyng [Woking] there were kept both Instes and Turneys: the rest of thys progresse was spent in huntyng, hawkyng, and shotyng."—*Hall's Chronicle*, p. 515, ed. 1809.

Page xxxii, l. 19, and note 4. *The boke of nurture*.—Jackson's edition of Hewe Rodes in 1577 was probably the sixth: "The Boke of Nurture, or Schoole of good maners for men Seruants and children, with Stans puer ad mensam. Newly corrected, &c." In my reprint I gave some collations of the second known edition, by Petyt,—from the imperfect copy in the Bodleian,—and of the

3rd known edition by Thomas Colwell, and the 4th by Abraham Veale, from Mr. Corser's unique copies, which he kindly lent me. Of the 5th edition by Thomas East in 1568, Lord Ashburnham has a copy, and I need not say that I have not seen it: he buys his books "for his own gratification, not for other people to look at." Of the first edition, about 1530, Mr. W. C. Hazlitt reports a copy to be in the possession of a Cornish gentleman, Mr. Robartes, "Imprynted at London in Southwarke by me Johan Redman." The 8th edition was perhaps 'The booke of Nurture' licensed to Thomas Easte on the 12th March, 1581-2.—Collier's *Extracts*, ii. 160.

Page xxxvii. *Olyuer of the Castl.*—Mr. F. W. Cosens says: In the Spanish translation of Ticknor by Gayangos and Védia, vol. i, p. 523, is the following note: "Of *El Rey Artus*, or more correctly, 'La historia de los nobles cavalleros Oliveros de Castilla y Artus de Algarve,' we have before us a copy printed at Burgos in 1499, an edition unknown to Mendez. It is in folio, with wood engravings. On the last leaf is printed, 'To the praise and glory of our redeemer Jesus Christ and of the blessed virgin Holy Mary. The present work was finished in the very noble and loyal city of Burgos the twenty-fifth day of May, year of our redemption 1499.' (In gothic letter, double columns.)

"Besides the editions cited by Brunet, 1501 and 1604, there is one by Cromberger, Seville, 20 November, 1510, folio, in double columns, without pagination, 34 leaves, Gothic letter (letra de tórtis), but of a different shape to that of the 1499 edition. In the earlier editions it is stated that the work was translated out of the Latin into the French tongue by "Felipe Comus," licenciado 'in utroque,' but in those of the 18th and later it is attributed to a certain Pedro de la Floresta."

Page xliii.—No. XVI. *The Castle of Ladies.* Mr. Hy. Huth has, with his usual kindness, lent me his copy of *The Cyte of Ladyes*; but there is nothing in it to identify it with Laneham's *Castlé of Ladies* except that it is all about virtuous ladies, and that the 'Cyte' in the woodcut on the title-page, before which two ladies stand, is that of a castle or large tower, perhaps part of the city-wall. The book is a translation of the French work of Cristine de Pise, printed in 1496, *Le trésor de la cité des dames (contenant plusieurs histoires et enseignemens notables aux roys, roynes, princesses et chevaliers, etc.) selon dame Cristine.* Colophon: "Cy finist le tresor : . . imprime a Paris, le viij iour daoust mil quatre cens quatre vingtz et xvij pour Anthoine Verard . . . in fol. goth."—Brunet. Cristine, taking up a book by Matheolus who did 'not speke well of the reuerence of women'—perhaps

Le livre de Matheolus
qui nous monstre sans varier

les biens et aussi les vertus
qui viennent pour soi marier etc. (Paris, 1492)—

'made grete meruayle . . . what myght be the cause, and wherof it myght come, that so many dyuers men, clerkes and others, haue ben, and ben, enclyned to say by mouthe / & in theyr treatyse and wrytynges, so many slaunders and blames of women and of theyr condycyons . . . that *the* condycyons of women ben fully enclyned to all vyces.'" Cristine, having examined herself 'as a woman naturall,' and discust the matter with her friends, is forct to the conclusion '*that* god made a foule thyng when he fourmed woman.' This troubles her much, and she dreams that three Ladies, Reason, Righteousness, and Justice, appear to her, argue against her conclusion, and say to her

We be come to tell the of a certayne buyldyng made in the manere of a cloystre of a Cyte strongly wrought by masons handes & well buylded / whiche is predestynate to the for to make and to stable it by our helpe and counsayle / in the whiche shall none enhabyte but onely ladyes of good fame / and women worthy of praysynge. For to them where vertue shall not be founde / the walles of our Cyte shall be strongly shytted. (sign. Cc.j.)

The City is a metaphorical one; the foundations are to be dug with the pickaxe of understanding, by asking questions of Reason as to women's nature and state. Woman is shown to be 'ryght a noble thyng,' and Cato's unpolite remark 'that the woman *that* pleaseth a man naturally resemblith the rose, whiche is pleasaunt to se / but *the* thorne is vnder, & prycketh' is explained to mean, that a good woman 'is one of the pleasauntest thynges *that* is to se,' but the thorn is only for herself, 'the thorne of drede to do amysse' (sign. Ee. j.). Many good women are then described, Mary the mother of Christ, 'Mary Magdaleyne & Martha her syster,' 'the Empresse Nychole aud dyuers noble quenes and pryncesses of Fraunce, the quene Fredegonde, Semyramys, the Amozones, the quene of Amozonye (Thamaris). Howe the stronge Hercules & Theseus wente vpon the Amozones, and howe the ij. ladyes Menalope and Ipolyte had almoost ouercome them (cap. 18). Of the quene Pantassylea, howe she wente to the socours of Troye; of Cenobyte, quene of Palmurenes'; Lylie, mother of *that* good knyght Thyerrys; quene Fredegonde, the mayde Camylle, quene Veronycle of Capadoce, the noble Archemyse, quene of Carye, and of the hardynesse of Cleolis. Then of the women that were enlumyned of grete scyences: the noble mayde Cornyfyte (cap. 28), Probe the Romaine, Sapho poete and phylosopre (cap. 30), the mayde Manthoa, Medea and another quene named Cyrtis. Then of the women that of themselves 'founde ony thyng . . . that was not knowne before: Nycostrate, otherwyse called Carmentis (cap. 33); Mynerue that founde many scyences / and the

manere to make Armour of Iron and steele; the ryght noble quene Seres; and the noble quene Ises, that founde fyrste the crafte to make Orcharde, and to plante plantes. Then 'of the grete welthe that is come to the worlde by dyuers ladyes (cap. 37-8) . . . the mayden Arenye, that founde the crafte to shere sheepe / to dresse the wolles / and to make clothe; Pamphyle, that founde the crafte to drawe sylke of the wormes (cap. 40); Thamar, that was a souerayne maystresse in the crafte of payntyng / and . . . Irayne; and Semproyne.' Next of the 'naturall prudence in woman: of Gaye Cyryle (cap. 45), Dydo quene of Cartage, Opy, Lauyne, doughter of the kynge Latyn.' These end the first Book, and Reason's talk to Cristine.

The second Book contains Ryghtwysnesse (or Righteousness)'s account of good women, those who are to form 'good buyldyng & hyghe palaces / royal & noble mansyons of these excellent ladyes of grete worshyp and renowne, [whi]che shal be lodged in this cyte / & shal abyde perpetually fro hens forth.' 1. those of souerayne dygnyte hyghly fulfilled of Sapyence,' the .x. Sybylles, also of Sybylle Erytee, and Sybylle Almethea; of dyuers ladyes (cap. 4), also of Nycostrate / and of Cassandra / and of the quene Basyne; of Anthoyn that became Empresse: of doughters that loued fader & moder, & fyrst of Drypetue (cap. 8), also of Isyphyle, of the vyrgyne Caudyne, of a woman that gaue her moder sowke in pryson (cap. 11). Next of the 'grete loue of women to theyr housbandes: of the quene Ipsytrace, the Empresse Tryarye, quene Archemyse; Argyue, doughter of the kynge Adrastus; the noble lady Agryppyne; the noble lady Julye, doughter of Julyus Cezar / & wyfe of the prynce Pompee (cap. 19); the noble lady Tyerce Emulyen; Zancyppe, wyfe of the phylosophre Socrates (cap. 21); Pompay paulyne, wyfe of seneke; the noble Sulpyce; also of dyuers ladyes togyder that respyted theyr housbandes from the dethe' (cap. 24). Next, how wrong it is to say that 'women can kepe no counsayle,' and here 'of Porcya, doughter of Catho; of the noble lady Curya,' and of a Roman woman in Nero's time. Then, what a mistake it is to 'say that a man is a fole that byleueth the counsayle of his wyfe, & taketh ony trust to it,' with instances 'of men to whom it hathe well sewed of byleuyng of theyr wyues' (cap. 29). Then 'of the grete welthe that is come to the worlde, & cometh all day, bycause of women. Also of Judyth the noble wydowe, quene Hester, the ladyes of Sabyne, Veturye,' and 'the quene of Fraunce, Clotyld. Also agaynst them that say that it is not good that women lerne letters . . . and that there ben but fewe women chast; & speketh of Susan, of Sarra, Rebecca, Ruth, Penelope, Maryamyre, & of Anthoyn wyfe of Druse Tyber. Also agaynst them that saye that women wyll be wyfully rauysshed of men / ensamples dyuers / & fyrst of

Lucesse; also of *the* quene of Gawsrees, *the* Sycambres & other maydens.' Next, against the inconstancy of women, Ryghtwynesse cites examples 'of the inconstaunce of dyuers Emperors; also of Nero', Galba, and others. But of women's constancy, 'Gryssylde, marquyse of Saluce, a stronge woman in vertue (cap. 50); Florence of Rome; and the wyfe of Barnabo the Geneuoy. Then, how it is not true that 'there are but fewe women praysable in the lyfe of loue;' citing 'Dydo, quene of Cartage, to the purpose of stable loue in a woman'; also Medea, Tysbe the mayde, Hero, Sysmonde daughter of the prynce of Salerne, Lyzabeth & other louers, Juno & other worshypful ladyes' (cap. 60). Next is an answer 'agaynst those *that* sayth *that* women draweth men to them by theyr Jolytees: Of Claudyne, woman of Rome;' yet 'Howe *that* he lyeth not *that* sayth *that* some women delyteth them in fayre clothyng or araye (cap. 63). Of quene Blaunche, moder of saynt Lewes, & other good women loued for theyr vertues.' Lastly, that women are not by nature 'scarce and covetouse' as witness '*the* ryche lady, & lyberall, Buyse; and pryncesses & ladyes of Fraunce' (cap. 67).

The Third Part 'speketh howe & by whome the hyghe batylmentes of *the* towres of *the* Cyte of Ladyes were performed / & what noble ladyes were chosen for to dwelle in *the* hyghe & grete palays and hyghe dongeons.' They are the chief Women-Saints, described by the lady Justice: Mary, 'quene of heuen; the systers of oure Lady, Mary Magdaleyne, saynt(s) Katheryne, Margarete, Luce (of Rome), Martyne, Luce (of Syracuse), Justyne & other vyrgynes, the blessyd Theodosyne, Barbara, Dorothe, *Christine*; also dyuers sayntes whiche sawe theyr chyldren martyred before them; also saynt Maryne the vyrgyne, Eufrosyne, Anastase & her felawes,' and among the others, the iij. systers vyrgynes, Agappe, Thyonne, Hyrene (x. 6, back); saynt Theodore, the noble Athalye (or Natalye), saynt Affre,' and 'dyuers noble ladyes whiche serued & herboured *the* apostles & other dyuers sayntes' (cap. 18). Lastly, 'in *the* ende of this boke *Christine* speketh to the Ladyes,' telling them that 'nowe is our Cyte well accheued and made parfyte . . . that the matter wherof it is made is all of vertue,' exhorting them to be humble, obedient, chaste, and pure, guarding themselves against the wiles of men, who strive to snare them 'as one dothe to take wylde beestes':—

And thus that it please you, my ryght redoubted ladyes, to drawe to the vertues, and flee vyces, to encrease and multeplye our Cyte / and ye to reioyce in well doyng. And me, your seruaunt, to be recommended vnto you in praynge god, whiche by his grace in this worlde graunte me for to lyue / and perseuer in his holy seruyce / and at the ende to be pyteous to my grete defautes / and graunte bothe vnto you and me the Ioye whiche endure[th] cuermore. AMEN. (¶ . Finis.

Surely a good book for Captain Cox and Robert Laneham to have. Let us believe that it was the Captain's *Castle of Ladies*. Its colophon, under a woodcut of two women, and between borders, is "¶ Here endeth the thyrde and the last partye of the boke of the Cyte of Ladies. ¶ Imprynted at London in Poules chyrchyarde at the sygne of the Trynyte by Henry Pepwell. In the yere of our lorde .M. CCCC. xxj. The .xxvj. day of October. And the .xij. yere of the reygne of our souerayne lorde kyng Henry the .viij." On the back of the leaf is Pepwell's monogram, a large woodcut of the Trinity, with elaborate borders all round.

Page lxxxv. *The Ship of Foolz*.—Mr. W. Paterson of Princes St., Edinburgh, announces as in preparation a reprint of Alexander Barclay's *Shyp of Fooles* from Pynson's edition of 1509, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary by T. H. Jamieson, and 112 Woodcuts reproduced in facsimile from the Basle edition in Latin of 1497, by John T. Reid, Artist. (P.S. I am dismayed to see that Warton in his *History of English Poetry* (§ 28, vol. iii. p. 193, ed. Hazlitt, etc., 1871) has made the same extract from *The Ship of Fools* that I have. The Book-Fool tempted both Warton and me.)

Page cxxviii, note ¹.—Here follows the moralized "Com ouer the Boorne, Besse," from Ritson's MS, which he gave to the British Museum.

[Addit. MS. 5665, leaf 143 back.]

Come ouer þ^e burne, besse,
þou lytyll praty besse!
com ouer the burne, besse, to me!

The burne is pis worlde blynde
& besse is mankynde;
so propyr I can none fynde as she.

she dauncys & lepys,
& crist stondys & clepys:
cum ouer the burne, besse, to me!
Cum ouer the burne, besse,
þou lytyll praty besse,
cum ouer the burne, besse, to me!

The original (says Mr. Chappell) is "A Songe betwene the Quenes Majestie and England," a duet between England and Queen Elizabeth, under the name of Bessy. Each stanza consists

of four lines, and they are marked alternately E. and B. The first verse is :

“ E. Come over the born, Bessy, come over the born, Bessy,
 Swete Bessy come over to me,
 And I shal the take, and my dere Lady make,
 Before all other that ever I see.”

23 verses. “ Finis. q. Wylliam Birche.” “ Imprinted at London by William Pickeringe, dwelling under Saynt Magnus Church.” A copy in the library of the Society of Antiquaries. See Catalogue of Broad-sides, p. 17.

Page cxxxii. *Bagford and the Caxton Prognostication*.—“ Bagford’s collection of printed Titles etc. (although mostly stolen from the Univ. Lib. Camb. and elsewhere) is certainly of value. His MS. Titles, and his remarks about Caxton and other printers, serve, as Dibdin truly said, only to mislead. His ‘prodgnostication,’ printed by Caxton, 1493, is all fudge, like many other works he attributed to the same printer.”—William Blades.

P. xxii, No. IV. *Beuys of Hampton*.—A shilling abstract in modern prose, *The Romance of Sir Bevis of S. Hamtoun, Newly done into English Prose from the Metrical Version of the Auchinleck MS, by Eustace H. Jones* has just been ‘publishd by H. M. Gilbert xxxvij Bernard St. and A. Randle cxxxix & cxi High St. Southampton.’ Mr. Jones doesn’t know much about Early English, but his book may be handy to many who can’t get at the original.

P. cxlii, No. 14. *Hercules*.—In Lilly’s Sale Catalogue (Sotheby’s, 1871) p. 139 is this entry: “1313. Hercules. The Birthe of Hercules. A Comedy. Manuscript of the XVIth Century, with directions for the actors in Latin and English on margins. Sæc. xvi (circa 1595). In all probability this is the first part of Martin Slaughter’s Play of Hercules, said to have been acted in 1598 by the Lord Admiral’s Servants, but of which no copy is now known.”

VNTOO MY GOOD FREEND, MA-
ster Humfrey Martin, Mercer.

After my hartie commendacionz, I commende mee hartily too yoo. Vnderstande yée, that sins through God & good fréends, I am placed at Cocourt héer (as yée wot) in a woorshipfull¹ room: whearby I am not onlie acquainted with the most, and well knoen too the best, and euery officer glad of my company: but also haue pouer, a dayz, (while the Councell sits not,) to go and too sée things sight worthy, and too bée present at any sheaw or spectacl, only whear this Progressse reprezented vnto her highness: And of part of which sportez, hauing takin sum notez and obseruationz, (for I can not bée idl at ony hand in the world,) az well too put fro me suspicion of sluggardy, az too pluk from yoo dcout of ony my forgetfulness of fréendship: I haue thought it méet too impart them vntoo yoo; az frankly, az fréendly, and az fully az I can. Well wot yée the blak Prins² waz neuer stained with disloyaltee of ingratitude towarde ony: I* dare bee his warrant hee [*p. 2.] will not beginne with yoo, that hath at hiz hand so déeplly dezerued.

But héerin, the better for conceyuing of my minde, and instruction of yoors, ye must gyue mee leaue a littl, az well to preface vntoo my matter, az to discoors sumwhat of Killyngwoorth Castl. A Territory of the right honorabl, my singular good Lord, my Lord the Earl of Leyceter: of whooz incomparabl cheeryng and enterteynment thear vntoo her Maiesty noow, I will shew yoo a part heer, that could not sée all; nor had I seen all, could well report the hallf: Whear thynges, for the parsons, for the place, time, cost, deuisez, straungnes, and aboundauns, of all that euer I sawe (and yet hane I been, what vnder my Master Bomsted, and what on my own affayres, whyle I occupied Merchaundize, both in Frauns and Flaunders long and many a day,) I saw none ony where so memorabl, I tell you plain.

¹ Orig. worwipfull.

² Lancham. See his signature, *El Principe Negro* at the end. Perhaps the sign of his shop.—*J. H. Burn*, 1821.

Killing-
woorth
Castl.

The Castl hath name of Killingwoorth, but of truth grounded vpon feythfull storie, Kenelwoorth. It stonds in Warwykshyre, a lxxiiii. myle north-west from London, and az it wear in the Nauell of Englande†, foure myle sumwhat south from Couen-tree, (a proper Cittee,) and a lyke distauns from Warwyk, a fayre Sheere Toun on the North : In ayr sweet and hollsum, raised on an eazy mounted hill, iz sette ceuenlie coasted with the froot straight intoo the East, hath the tenaunts and Tooun about it, that pleasantly shifts from dale too Hyll, sundry whear wyth sweet Springs bursting foorth : and iz so plentifulle well sorted on euery side, intoo arabl, meado, pasture, wood, water, & good ayrz, az it appeerz to haue need of nothing that may perteyn too liuing or pleasure. Too anauntage¹ hath it, hard on the West, still nourisht with many liuely Springs, a goodly Pool of rare beauty, bredth, length, deapth, and store of all kinde freshwaterfish, delicat, great, and fat, and also of wildfooul byside. By a rare situation and natural amitee seemz this Pool conioynd to the Castlz, that on the West layz the head (az it wear) vpon the Castlz boosom, embraceth it on either side, South [a]nd North, with both the armz, settlz it self az in a reach a flight-shoot brode², stretching foorth body and legs a myle or too Westward : between a fayre Park on the one side, which by the §Braz³ is linked too the castl on the South, [§p. 4.] sprinkled at the entrauns with a feaw Coonyez, that for colour and smallnes of number séem too bée suffered more for pleasure then commoditée : And on the oother side, North and West, a goodlie Chase : wast, wyde, large, and full of red Déer and oother statelie gamez for hunting : beautified with manie delectabl, fresh & vmbragious Boow[r]z, Arberz, Seatz, and walks, that with great art, cost, & diligens, wear very pleazauntly appointed : which also

¹ *Orig.* anauntage.

² This passage may have two significations: One derived from the same expression which Laneham uses when speaking of the fire-works (p. 12), in which place it is understood to mean a flying shot, or one discharged from a mortar. The other . . . supposing that a *flight* signified a small arrow; in contradistinction to shafts, quarrels, bolts, and piles. The latter of these is, however, the most probable, as the pool itself was not more than 300 ft. in breadth.—*Burn*, p. 94; *Nichols*, i. 427 (edit. 1823).

³ The old military word for an outwork defended by palisades, with watch-towers at intervals, to protect sentinels. See Le Duc, under *braie*.—E. H. Knowles. The Park at Kenilworth was separated from the Castle on the South side by a part of the pool.—*Burn*, p. 94; *Nichols*, i. 427.

the naturall grace by the tall and fresh fragrant treez & soil did so far fourth commend, az Diana her selfe might haue deyned thear well enough too raunge for her pastime. The leaft arme of this pool Northward, had my Lorde adcoorned with a beautifull bracelet of a fayr tymbred bridge¹, that iz of xiiii. foot wide, and a six hundred foot long : railed all on both sidez, strongly planked for passage, reaching from the Chase too the Castl : that thus in the midst hath clear prospect ouer théez pleasurz on the² backpart : and forward, ouer all the Toun, and mooch of the Countree beside. Héer-too, a speciall comoditee at hand of sundrie quarreiz of large building stone, the goodnes whearof may the ||eazlyar
 [[p. 5.] be iudged in the bilding and auncienty of the Castl, that (az by the name & by storiez, well may be gathered) waz first reared by Kenulph, and hiz young sun and successor Kenelm³ : born both indeed within the Ream héer, but yet of the race of Saxons : and reigned kings of Marchlond from the year of our Lord .798. too .23. yéerz toogether, aboue 770. yéer ago. Although the Castl hath one auncient, strong and large Kéep, that iz called Ceazarz Tour, rather (az I haue good cauz to think) for that it iz square and hye foormed, after the maner of Ceazarz Fortz, then that euer hé bylt it.

Florileg.
fo. 221. &
225.

Guil. Mal-
mesb. li. 1.

Nay, noow I am a littl in, Master Martin, ile tell you all.

This Marchlond, that Storyerz call Mercia, iz numbred in their bookes, the ffourth⁴ of the seauen Kingdomes that the Saxans had whilom heer divided among them in the Ream. Began in Anno Domi. 616. 139. yéer after Horsins⁵ and Engist continued in the race of a 17. Kings a .249. yéer together : and ended in Ann. 875. Reyzed from the rest (sayz the book) at first by Pendaz prezmption⁶ : ouerthroun at

¹ See Notes at the end.

² Orig. &.

³ This is all gammon. "Sir William Dugdale says, that the land on which the Castle is situate was given by King Henry I. to a Norman, named Geoffry de Clinton, his Lord Chamberlain and Treasurer, by whom the building was first erected."—Note in *Gascoigne's Princ. Pleas*, ed. 1821, p. 81.

⁴ Robert Manning of Brunne makes it the sixth :—

be syxte was Merce, now ys Lyndeseye,
be hed toun per to Lyncolne lay.

Stori of Englande, l. 14761–2, vol. ii. p. 512, ed. 1871, *F. J. F.*

⁵ Another copy reads 'Horsus,' *rectius* Horsa.—*Nichols*, 1788, i. 428.

⁶ See Notes at the end.

last by Buthreds Hascardy¹, and so fel to the kingdoom of the West Saxons.

*And Marchlond had in it, London, Mildelsex,—
 [*p. 6.] héerin a Bishoprik;—Had more of Shyre²: Gloceter,
 Mercia. Woorceter, and Warwik,—and héerin a Bishop-
 rik;—Chester (that noow we call Chesshyre), Darby, and
 Stafford,—whervntoo one Bishop, that had also part of War-
 wik and Shrewsbury, and hiz See at Couentree, that waz then
 aforetime at Lychfeeld.—Héertoo: Hereford, (wherin a
 Bishoprik, that had more too iurisdiction, half Shreusbury,
 part of Warwik, and also of Gloceter, and the See at Here-
 ford;)—Also had Oxford, Buckingham, Hertford, Hunting-
 don, and halfe of Bedford, and too theez, Northampton³, part
 of Lecyter and also Lincoln, (whearynto a Bisshop, whoz See
 at Lincoln Citee, that sumtime before waz at Dorchester.)
 Héerto, the rest of Leyceter & in Nottingham, that of oldd
 had a speciall Bishop, whooz See waz at Leyceter, but after,
 put to the charge of the Archbishop of Yorke.

Noow touching the name, that of oldd Recordes I vnder-
 stand, and of auncient writers I finde, iz calld Kenelworth,
 Syns most of the Worths in England stand ny vntoo like
 lakez, and ar eyther small Ilandz, such one az the seat of this

[†p. 7.] †Castl hath béen, & eazly may bee, or is londground
 Vpon Tacit by pool or riuer, whearon willoz, alderz, or such like
 fol. 142. doo gro: which Althamerus⁴ writtez precizely that
 The Ger- the Germains cal Werd: Ioyning these too together,
 mains call with the nighness allso of the woords, and sybred⁵
werk, that of the toongs, I am the bolder to pronocouns, that
 we woork. az our English Woorth,⁶ with the rest of our aun-
Werlt: cient langage, waz leaft vs from the Germains:
 woorld.

¹ Hask, harsh, Linc.: *Bailey*. 'Hask, coarse, harsh, rough': *Brockett*.
 'An Haskarde, proletarius, ignobilis': *Levins*. 'Haskerde, a rough fellow':
Dekker. 'Vilane hastarddis' [*for hascarddis*]. Percy's Rel. p. 25.—*Halliwell*.

² See these (save Middlesex and Hertford) in English of ab. 1300 A.D. in
 the Life of St. Kenelm, in my *Early English Poems and Lives of Saints*, p. 48-9,
 l. 21-42. Mercia is there called 'þe march of Wales.'

³ *Orig. Northampton*.

⁴ Andrew Althamer, a Lutheran minister of Nuremberg, who lived about
 1560; he wrote several controversial works, and some valuable notes on
 Tacitus, from which the passage in the text is taken. See *Dictionnaire Universel*.
 —*Burn*, p. 95; *Nichols*, i. 429.

⁵ A. Sax. *sibræden*, consanguinity.

⁶ The termination *Worth*, which is mentioned in the text to signify land
 situate by water, is more properly derived from the Saxon *þopð*, a court or
 farm; and hence the place was originally denominated Kenelm's Worth, or
 the Court of Kenelm.—*Burn*, p. 95; *Nichols*, i. 429.

Wermut : éeuē so that their Werd and our Woorth is all
worm- one thing in sign[i]fiauns, common too vs both, éēn
wood. *So* at this day. I take the case so cléer, that I say
viel wert : not az mooch as I moought. Thus proface ye¹ with
So much woorth. the Preface. And noow to the matter.

ON Saturday the nyenth of Iuly, at long Ichington, a Toun
and Lordship of my Lord's, within a seauen² myle of
Killingworth, hiz honor made her Maiesty great chéer at
Dinner, and pleazaunt pastime in hunting by the wey after,
that it was eight a clock in the euening ear her highness
came too Killingwoorth. Whear, in the Park, about a flight-
shoot from the Brayz, & first gate of the Castl, one of the
Sibyl. ten Sibills, that (wée réed) wear all Fatidicæ and
[§p. 8.] Theobulæ§, (az partiez and priuy too the Gods gra-
cious good wilz,) cumly clad in a pall³ of white sylk,
pronounced a proper poezi in English rime and méeter⁴ :
of effect, hoow great gladnesse her goodnesse prezenze⁵ brought
into euerie steed⁶ whear it pleazed her too cum, and speciall
now into that place that had so long longed after the same :
ended with prophesie certain, of mooch and long prosper-
ritée, health, and felicitée : this, her Maiestie beningly ac-
cepting⁷, passed foorth vntoo the next gate of the Brayz,
which (for the length, largenes and vse, az well it may so
The Porter. serue,) they call noow the Tyltyard, whear a Porter,
tall of person, big of lim, & stearn of coounti-
nauns, wrapt also all in silke, with a club & keiz of quanti-

¹ That is, 'I.'

² Another copy erroneously states this town to be only three miles distant from Kenilworth. In Dr. Thomas's edition of Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, Lond. 1730, vol. i. p. 345, it is related that at the period mentioned in the text, "the Earl of Leicester gave the Queen a glorious entertainment here, in her passage to Kenilworth Castle, erecting a tent of extraordinary largeness for that purpose, the pins belonging whereto amounted to seven cart-loads; by which the magnificence thereof may be guessed at." Laneham also subsequently notices this circumstance, when speaking of the preparations for the Queen's reception at Kenilworth (p. 56 below).—*Burn*, p. 95 (from Nichols's first edition of 1788, vol. i. p. 5); *Nichols*, ed. 1823, vol. i. p. 429.

³ A long and large upper mantle was denominated a pall, from the Latin *pallium*, or *palla*, a cloak. The great mantle worn by the Knights of the Garter, is by ancient writers called *pallium*.—*Burn*, p. 95; *Nichols*, i. 430.

⁴ These verses, written by Mr. Hunnis, Master of Queen Elizabeth's Chapl, are the first in Gascoigne's *Princely Pleasures*, p. 3-4, ed. 1821.

⁵ Another copy reads "gracious presence."—*Nichols*, i. 430.

⁶ *Stead* is from the Saxon *Stede*, a room or place. See Somner.—*Burn*, p. 96; *Nichols*, i. 430.

⁷ *Orig.* accepting.

tée according, had a rough speech, full of passions, in méeter aptly made to the purpose: whearby (az her highnes was cum within his warde) hée burst out in a great pang of impatiens¹ to sée such vncooth trudging too and fro, such riding in and out, with such dyn and noiz of talk within the charge of his offis: whearof hee neuer saw the like, nor had any warning afore, ne yet could make too him-

[tp. 9.] selfe any cauze of the matter: at last, vpon better viou and auisement†, as hee preast too cum neerar:

confessing anon that hee found him self pearced at the prezens of a personage so euidently expressing an heroicall Soueraintee ouer all the whole estates & hy dégrééz thear besyde, callmd hiz stoniz², proclaims open gates and frée passage to all, yéelds vp hiz club, hiz keyz³, hiz office, and all, and on hiz knééz humbly prayz pardon of hiz ignorauns and impaciens: which her highnes graciouslie graunt-

The Trum- ing, he cauzd hiz Trumpetourz that stood vpon petoours.

the wall of the gate thear, too soound vp a tune of welcum: which, besyde the nobl noyz, was so mooch the more pleazaunt too behold, becauz thééz Trumpetourz, beeing sixe in number, wear euery one an eight foot hye⁴, in due proportion of parson besyde, all in long garments of sylk sutabl, eache with hiz syluery Trumpet of a fiue foot long, foormed Taperwyse, and straight from the vpper part vntoo the neather eend, whear the Diameter was a 16. yuchez ouer, and yet so tempered by art, that being very eazy too the blast, they cast foorth no greater noyz, nor a more vnpleazaunt soound for time and tune, then any oother

[*p. 10.] common Trumpet, bee it neuer so artificially* foormed. Theese armonious blasterz,—from the

foreside of the gate at her highnes entrauns whear they began, walking vpon the wallz, vntoo the inner,—had this muzik mainteined from them very delectably while her highness all along this tilyard rode vnto the inner gate next the

Lady of base court of the Castl: where the Lady of the the Lake. Lake (famous in King Arthurz book¹) with too

Nymphes waiting vpon her, arrayed all in sylks, attending her highness comming: from the midst of the Pool, whear, vpon a moouabl Iland, bright blazing with

¹ See *Notes at end.*

² Astonishment.

³ *Orig.* heyz.

⁴ Sham ones with sham trumpets, but real men and trumpets behind. See p. 5 of *Gassoigne's Pr. Pleas.*

torches, she, floting to land, met her Maiesty with a well penned meter and matter¹ after this sort: first of the auncientée of the Castl,—whoo had been ownerz of the same éen till this day, most allweyz in the hands of the Earls of Leyceter,—hoow shée had kept this Lake sins king Arthurz dayz, and now, vnderstanding of her highness hither cumming, thought it both office and duetie in humbl wize to discover her and her estate: offering vp the same, her Lake and pour therein, with promise of repayre vnto the Court. It pleozed her highness too thank this Lady, & too ad withall, “we had thought indéed the Lake had been ours, [*p. 11.] and doo you *call it yourz noow? Wel, we will héerin common more with yoo héerafter.”

This Pageaunt waz clozd vp with a delectable harmony of Hautboiz², Shalmz³, Cornets⁴, and such oother loud muzik,

¹ Verses printed in Gascoigne's *Princely Pleasures*, p. 7-9, ed. 1821, and 'dvised and penned by M. Ferrers, sometime Lord of Misrule in the Court.'—*Nichols*, i. 431.

² Straight wooden wind-instruments, with holes down the front, and conical ends, blown through reed mouthpieces at the top. See *Notes* at the end.

³ *Shalmz*. See Chappell's *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, i. 35, note b. “A very early drawing of the Shalm or Shawm, is in one of the illustrations to a copy of Froissart, in the Brit. Mus.—*Royal MSS.* 18 E. Another in Comenius' *Visible World*, translated by Hoole, 1650, (he translates the Latin word *gingras*, shawm,) from which it is copied into Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, edited by Singer, vol. i. p. 114, ed. 1825. The modern clarionet is an improvement upon the shawm, which was played with a quill, or reed, like the wayte, or hautboy, but being a bass instrument, with about the compass of an octave, had probably more the tone of a bassoon. It was used on occasions of state. ‘What stately music have you? You have shawms? Ralph plays a stately part, and he must needs have shawms.’—*Knight of the Burning Pestle*. Drayton speaks of it as shrill-toned: ‘E'en from the shrillest shawm, unto the cornamute.’—*Polyolbion*, vol. iv. p. 376. I conceive the shrillness to have arisen from over-blowing, or else the following quotation will appear contradictory:—

‘A Shawme maketh a swete sounde, for he tuncythe the basse,
It mountithe not to hye, but kepithe rule and space.
Yet yf it be blown withe to vehement a wynde,
It makithe it to mysgerverne out of his kynde.’

“This is one of the ‘proverbis’ that were written about the time of Henry VII., on the walls of the Manor House at Leckingfield, near Beverley, Yorkshire, anciently belonging to the Percys, Earls of Northumberland, but now destroyed. There were other proverbis relating to music and musical instruments (harp, lute, recorder, claricorde, clarysymballis, virgynalls, clarion, organ, singing, and musical notation), and the inscribing them on the walls adds another to the numberless proofs of the estimation in which the art was held. A manuscript copy of them is preserved in MS. Bibl. Reg. 18, D. 11, Brit. Mus.”

⁴ Among Henry VIII.'s instruments were “Gitteron Pipes of ivory or wood, called *Cornets*.” The Cornet described by Mersenne (the French writer on musical instruments) is of a bent shape like the segment of a large circle,

that held on while her Maiestie pleazauntly so passed from thence toward the Castl gate : whearunto, from the baze Court, ouer a dry valley cast into a good foorm, waz thear framed a fayre Bridge of a twentie foot wide, and a seauenty foot long, graueld for treading, railed on either part with seauen posts on a side, that stood a twelue foot a sunder, thikned betweene with well proportioned Pillars turnd.

Vpon the first payr of posts were set too cumly square wyre cagez, each a thrée foot long, too foot wide and hy : in them, liue Bitters, Curluz, Shoouelarz, Hearsheawz¹, Godwitz, and such like deinty Byrds, of the prezents of Syluanus, the God of foul.

On the second payr, too great Syluerd Bollz, featly apted too the purpose, filde with Applz, Pearz, Cheriz, Filberdz, Walnuts, fresh vpon their braunchez, and with Oringes, Pougarnets², Lemmanz, and Pipinz, all for the giftz of Pomona, Goddes of frui[t]ez.

The third pair of posts, in too such syluerd† Bollz, had (all in earz, gréen and old) Wheat, Barly, Ootz, Beanz, and Peaz, az the gifts of Ceres.

The fourth Post on the leaft hand, in a like syluered Boll, had Grapes in Clusters, whyte and red, gracified with their Vine leauetz : the match post against it had a payree of great whyte syluer lyuery Pots for wyne : and before them two glassez of good capacitie filld full : the ton with whyte Wine, the two other with claret : so fresh of color, and of looke so louely smiling to the eyz of many, that by my feith mee thought by their léering they could haue foound in their harts (az the euening was hot) to haue kist them swéetlie, and thought it no sin : and théez for the potencial pre-Bacchus. 4. zents of Bacchus the God of wine.

The fift payr had, each a fair large trey streawd a littl³ with fresh grass, and in them, Coonger⁴, Burt⁵, Mullet,

gradually tapering from the bottom to the mouthpiece. The cornet was of a loud sound, but in skilful hands could be modulated so as to resemble the tones of the human voice.—*Chappell*, i. 248, note a : see also p. 631.

¹ Bitterns, curlews, shovellers, heronshaws (or herons). ² Pomegranates.

³ Nichols, copying a Bodleian edition, leaves out 'a littl' : ed. 1788, vol. i. p. 9.

⁴ *Conger* is nothing but a sea-eele, of a white, sweet, and fatty flesh : little Congers are taken in great plenty in the Severn, hetwixt Gloucester and Tewkesbury, but the great ones keep onely in the salt seas, which are whiter-flesht and more tender.—Dr. Bennet's ed. of *Muffett's Healths Improvement*, p. 149.

⁵ Fr. *Limaude*, f. A Burt or Bret fish.—*Cotgrave*. 'Rhombi. Turbutz . . some

fresh Herring, Oisters, Samon, Creuis¹, and such like, from

Neptunus, God of the Sea.
 Neptunus. 5. On the sixth payr of Posts wear set two ragged stauz² of syluer, as my Lord giuez them in armz, beautifully glittering of armour thereupon depending, Bowz, Arroz, Spearz, Shéeld, Head pées, Gorget, Corsetlets, Swords, Targets, and such like, for Mars gifts, the God of war. And the aptlyer (me thought)

[†p. 13.] Mars. 6. waz it that thooz ragged staues supported théez Martiall presents, as well becauz théez staues by their tines³ séem naturallie méete for the bearing of armocour, as also that they chiefly in this place might take vpon them principall protection of her highnes Parson, that so benignly pleased her to take herbour.

On the seauenth Posts⁴, the last and next too the Castl, wear thear pight⁵, too faer Bay braunchez of a fourfoot hy, adourned on all sides with Lutes, Viollz, Shallmz⁶, Cornets,

Flutes, Recorders⁷ and Harpes, as the prezents of Phœbus. 7. Phœbus, the God of Muzik, for reioysing the mind, and also of Phizik, for health to the body.

call the Sea-Pheasant . . whilst they be young . . they are called *Butts*.—Muffett, p. 173, in *Babees Book*, p. 167, and see p. 231 *ib*.

¹ Crayfish, or crab. See *Babees Book*, pp. 158, 159, 166, 174, 216, 231, 281.

² The Ragged Staff was the well-known badge of the house of the king-maker Warwick.—See my *Political Religious and Love-Poems* (E. E. Text Soc. 1866) p. xii and 3:—

An R. for þe Raged staf bat no man may askape;
 from Scotlonde to Calles þerof they stonde in awe;
 he is a stafe of stedfastnes bothe erly and latte
 To chastes siche kaytifas as don against þe lawe.

Also the passage there quoted from the Cotton Rolls, ii. 23, in Wright's *Political Songs*, Rolls Series, vol. ii. p. 222:—

The Bere (Warwik) is bound that was so wild,
 for he hath lost his ragged staffe.

Elizabeth's entertainer, Sir Robert Dudley, K.G., Earl of Leicester, was the younger son of John Dudley, 19th Earl of Warwick, created Duke of Northumberland, 11th Oct. 1551, K.G. attainted and beheaded 1553.—*Nicolas's Peerage*, p. 369, 678.

³ *tines*, short pricks of an antler, prongs of a fork.

⁴ t. i. pair of posts.

⁵ Pitched, placed: pret. of *picchen* to pitch, fix.

⁶ See note, p. 7.

⁷ See "The Genteel Companion for the Recorder," by Humphery Salter, 1683. Recorders and (English) Flutes are to outward appearance the same, although Lord Bacon, in his *Natural History*, cent. iii. sec. 221, says the Recorder hath a less bore, and a greater above and below. The number of holes for the fingers is the same, and the scale; the compass, and the manner of playing, the same. Salter describes the recorder from which the instrument derives its name, as situate in the upper part of it, *i. e.* between the hole below the mouth, and the highest hole for the finger. He says, "Of the kinds of

Ouer the Castl gate was there fastened a Tabl, beautifully garnisht abooue with her highness armes, and featlie with Iuy wreathz boordred about: of a ten foot square: the ground blak, whearupon, in large white Capitall Roman, fayr written, a Poem mencioning théez Gods and their giftes thus presented vntoo her highness: which, becauz it remained vnremoued, at leyzure & please¹ I took it oout, as foloeth:

[P. 14.] *AD MAIESTATEM REGIAM.*²

*Iupiter huc certos cernens TE tendere gressus,
Coelicolas PRINCEPS actutum conuocat omnes:
Obsequium præstare iubet TIBI quenque benignum.
Vnde suas Sylluanus aues, Pomonaque fructus,
Alma Ceres fruges, hilarantia vina Licæus,
Neptunus Pisces, tela & tutantia Mauors,
Suaue melos Phæbus, solidam longamque salutem.
Dij TIBI REGINA hæc (cum SIS DIGNISSIMA) præbent:
Hæc TIBI cum Domino dedit se & werda Kenelmi.*

All the letterz that mention her Maiesty, which héer I put capitall, for reuerens and honor, wear thear made in golld.

But the night well spent, for that théez versez by Torchlight could not easily bée read, by a Poet thearfore in a long ceruleous³ garment, with a side⁴ and wide sléeuez Vene-

music, vocal has always had the preference in esteem and in consequence, the Recorder, as approaching nearest to the sweet delightfulness of the voice, ought to have first place in opinion, as we see by the universal use of it confirmed." The Hautboy is considered now to approach most nearly to the human voice, and Mr. Ward, the military instrument manufacturer, informs me that he has seen "old English Flutes" with a hole bored through the side, in the upper part of the instrument, the holes being covered with a thin piece of skin, like gold-beater's skin. I suppose this would give somewhat the effect of the quill or reed in the Hautboy, and that these were Recorders. In the proverbs at Leckingfield (quoted *ante*, note *b*, p. 35), the Recorder is described as "desiring" the mean part, but manifold fingering and stops bringeth high (notes) from its clear tones. This agrees with Salter's book. He tells us the high notes are produced by placing the thumb *half* over the hole at the back, and blowing a little stronger. Recorders were used for teaching birds to pipe.—*Chappell's Pop. Music*, i. 246, note *a*. See *Notes* at the end.

¹ ? not *pleasure*, but *place*: 'time and place suiting.'

² We learn from Gascoigne (*Princely Pleasures*, p. 10–11) that these verses were written by M. Paten.—*Nichols*, i. 433.

³ Azure-blue, or sky-colour, from the Latin *ceruleus*. Anciently, blue dresses were worn by all servants.—See Strutt. *Burn*, p. 97; *Nichols*, i. 434.

⁴ *Side*, or *syde*, in the North of England, and in Scotland, is used for *long*,

cian wize¹, drawn vp to his elboz, his Dooblet sleeuez vnder that, Crimzen, nothing but silke : a Bay garland on hiz head, and a skro² in his hand, making first an humble obeizaunz at her highness cummyng, and pointing vntoo euerie present az hée spake : the same wear pronounced.³ Pleazauntly thus [tp. 15.] viewing the giftes az †she past, & hoow the posts might agrée with the spéech of the Poet, at the éend of the bridge & entrée of the gate waz her highnes receiued with a fresh delicate armony of Flutz, in perfourmauns of Phoebus presents.

So passing intoo the inner Court, her Maiesty (that neuer ridez but alone) thear set down from her Pallfree, waz

when applied to the garment; and the word has the same signification in Anglo-Saxon and Islandic or Danish :—

“The Erle Jamys with his Rowte hale
Thare gert stent thare Pavillownys,
And for the Hete tuk on *syd* Gwnys.”

Wyntown's Chronicle, vol. ii. 339.

The wide and long-pocketed sleeve, called by heralds the *manche*, was much in fashion in the reign of Henry IV. Stowe, in his Chronicle, p. 327, temp. Henry IV., says, “This time was used exceeding pride in garments, gownes with deepe and broade sleeves commonly called poke sleeves, the servants ware them as well as their masters, which might well have been called receptacles of the devil, for what they stole, they hid in their sleeves, whereof some hung down to the feete, and at least to the knees, full of cuts and jagges. Again, in Fitzherbert's “Book of Husbandrie,” is the following passage :—

“Theyr cotes be so *syde* that they be fayne to tucke them up when they ride, as women do theyr kyrtels when they go to the market.”

Of these Hoccleve, a master of that age, says :—

Nor has this land less need of brooms
To sweep the filth out of the street,
Sen *side-sleeves* of pennylesse grooms
Will lick it up be't dry or wet.

Camden's *Remains* ; Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, xv. No. II. § 51.—
Kenilworth Illustrated, Appendix, p. 11 ; and *Nichols*, i. 434.

¹ Cp. on the enormously wide Venetian breeches or hose, Stubbes's *Anatomie*, in Nares, and the eleventh song in Thomas Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece* :—

The Spaniard loves his ancient slop,
The Lumbard his *Venetian*.

Percy MS. Loose Songs, p. 76.

The wide sleeve is spoken of by Peacham, says Fairholt (*Costume in England*, p. 211, note), “the wide saucy sleeve that would be in every dish before their master, with buttons as big as tablemen ;” similar to the “men” now used for draughts.’ Peacham also tells us that “long stockings without garters, then was the Earl of Leicester's fashion, and theirs who had the handsomest leg.”

² scroll.

³ Gascoigne gives 13 other lines of Latin verse,—different from Mr. Paten's, —which he says ‘were devised by Master Muncaster. . . I am not very sure whether these or Master Paten's were pronounced by the Author, but they were all to one effect.’—*Princely Pleasures*, ed. 1821, p. 11.

conueied vp to chamber: when after, did follo so great a peal of gunz, and such lightning by fyr work a long space toogither, as Iupiter woold sheaw himself too bee no further behind with hiz welcum, then the rest of hiz Gods: and that woold hee haue all the countrie to kno: for indeed the noiz and flame wear heard and séene a twenty myle of. Thus much, Master Martin, (that I remember me) for the first daiz 'Bien venu.' Be yée not wery, for I am skant in the midst of my matter.

Sunday. On Sunday: the forenoon occupied (az for the Sabot day) in quiet and vacation from woork, & in diuine seruis & preaching at the parish church: The afternoon, in excelent muzik of sundry swet instruments, and in dauncing¹ of Lordes and Ladiez, and oother woorshipfull de-
[+page 16.] grées, vttered with such liuely agilitee & commend-
abl grace, +az, whither it moought be more straunge too the eye, or pleazunt too the minde, for my part indéed I could not discern: but excéedingly well waz it (me thought) in both.

At night late, az though Iupiter the last night had forgot for bizness, or forborn for curtezy & quiet, part of hiz well-coom vntoo her highness appointed: noow entring² at the fyrst intoo hiz purpoze moderately (az mortallz doo) with a warning péec or too, proceeding on with encrez; at last the Altitonant displeaz³ me hiz mayn pœur: with blaz of burning darts, flying too & fro, leamz⁴ of starz coruscant, streamz and hail of frie sparkes, lightninges of wildfier a water and lond, flight & shoot of thunderboltz: al with such countinauns, terror, and vehemencie, that the heauns thundred, the waters scourged, the earth shooke: and in such sort surly, az, had we not bee[n] assured of⁵ the fulmieant deitée waz all hot in amitée, and could not otherwise witesse hiz welcomming vnto her highnesse, it woold haue made mee,

¹ Compare Stubbes on dancing on Sundays. "But other some spend the sabaoth day for the most part in frequenting of baudie stage-playes and enterludes, in maintaining Lords of Misrule (for so they call a certaine kinde of play which they use), may-games, church-ales, feasts, and wakesses: in pyping, dauncing, dicing, carding, bowling, tennisse-playing; in beare-bayting, cock-fighting, hawking, hunting, and such like . . . *Anatomie of Abuses*, 1st ed. 1583, Collier's reprint, p. 130. See also Stubbes's most amusing chapter on "The horrible Vice of pestiferous dauncing, used in Ailgna," *ib.* p. 150-168; and his next chapter "Of Musick in Ailgna, and how it allureth to vanitie," p. 168-172.

² *Orig.* entrins.

³ displays.

⁴ A. Saxon. *leóma*, a ray of light, a beam, light, flame.—*Bosworth*. ⁵ ? that.

for my part, az hardy az I am, very veangeably afeard. This a-doo lasted while [t]he midnight waz past, that well waz mee soon after when I waz cougth¹ in my Cabayn. And [†pags 17.] thiz for †the secund day.

Munday, 3. Munday waz hot; and thearfore her highnesse kept in a till a fue a clok in the éeuening: what time it pleazzd her too ryde fourth into the Chase² too hunt the

Hart of fors³: which ffound anon, and after sore chased, and chafed by the hot pursuit of the hooundes, waz fain, of fine fors, at last to take soil.⁴

The hunt-
ing of the
Hart of
fors. Thear to beholld the swift fléeting of the Déer afore, with the stately cariage of hiz head in hiz swymming, spread (for the quantité) lyke the sail of a ship: the hoounds harroing after, az they had bin a number of skiphs⁵ too the spoyle of a karuell⁶: the ton no lesse eager in purchaz of hiz pray, then waz the other earnest in sauegard of hiz life: so az the earning⁷ of the hoounds in continuauns of their crie, the swiftnes of the Déer, the running of footmen, the galloping of horsez, the blasting of hornz, the halloing & hewing⁸ of the huntsmen,⁹ with the excellent Echoz betwéen whilez from the woods and waters in valleiz resounding, moued pastime delectabl in so hy a degré, az for ony

¹ ? *coft*, confined, coffered, shut up as in a coffer.

² See *Notes* at the end.

³ fors, Fr. *force*, force, might, strength, power, abilitie, vigour.—*Cotgrave*.

⁴ A term used in hunting, when a deer runs into the water.—See *Phillips*; *Burn*, p. 97; *Nichols*, i. 435. See note 2, p. 33 below.

⁵ Lat. *scapha*, a boat; Fr. *ésquif*, a Skiffe, or little boat.—*Cotgrave*.

⁶ At the lengthe, three shyppes were appoynted hym [Columbus] at the kinges charges: of the which one was a great caracte with deckes: and the other twoo were light marchaunte shyppes without deckes, whiche the Spaniardes call *Carauelas*.—Arber's reprint of *Peter Martyr's Decades*, bk. i. p. 65. Sp. *carobéla*, a small ship, called a caruell.—*Minsheu*. 'A Carvel, or Caravel, was a species of light round vessel, with a square stern, rigged and fitted out like a galley, and of about 140 tons burthen. Such ships were formerly much used by the Portuguese, and were esteemed the best sailers on the seas. See *Phillips*.'—*Burn*, p. 97; *Nichols*, i. 435.

⁷ baying, connected with Lat. *hirrire*, Welsh *hyrrio*, Engl. *harr*, to snarl.—See *Wedgwood's Dict.* under *ire* and *irritate*, and my *Notes*, p. 63 &c.

⁸ Cp. our '*hue* and cry.' Fr. *huer*, to hoot, shout, exclaime, cry out, make hue and cry.—*Cotgrave*. See also *Wedgwood*.

⁹ Tourberville, in the "Noble Art of Venerie, or Hunting," 4to. Lond. 1611, has an entire chapter of "certaine observations and subtelties to be used by Huntsmen in hunting an Hart at force," and gives us the words of encouragement to the hounds as follows:—

"Hyke a Talbot, or Hyke a Bewmont, Hyke, Hyke, to him, to him!
There he goeth, that's he, that's he, to him, to him!"

parson to take pleazure by moost sensez at onez, in mine
 [†page 18.] opinion thear can be none ony wey comparable to
 this; And special in †this place, that of nature iz
 foormed so féet for the purpose: in feith, Master Martin, if ye
 couold with a wish, I wouold ye had been at it! Wel, the Hart
 waz kild, a goodly Déer; but so ceast not the game yet.

For about nien a clock, at the hither part of the Chase,
 whear torchlight attended: oout of the woods, in her Mai-
 estiezi return, rooughly came thear forth Hombre
 The sauage man. Saluagio¹, with an Oken plant pluct vp by the roots
 in hiz hande, himself forgrone² all in moss and Iuy:
 who, for parsonage, gesture, and vtterauns beside, cououten-
 aunst³ the matter too very good liking, and had speech to
 effect: "That continuig so long in theez wilde wastes,
 whearin oft had he fared both far and néer, yet hapt hée
 neuer to see so glorioous an assemble afore: and noow cast
 intoo great grief of mind, for that neyther by himself couold
 hee gess, nor knew whear else to bee taught, what they
 should be, or whoo bare estate. Reports sum had he hard
 of many straunge thinges, but brooyled thearby so mooch
 the more in desire of knoledge. Thus in great pangz be-
 thought he & cald he vpon all his familiarz & companionz:
 [†page 19.] the Fawnz, the Satyres, the Nymphs, the †Dryardes,
 and the Hamadryades; but none making aunswear,
 whearby hiz care the more encreasing, in vtter grief & ex-
 tréem refuge calld hee allowd at last after hiz olld freend
 Echo. Echo, that he wist would hyde nothing from him⁴, but
 tel him all if she wear heer." "Héer" (quoth Echo.)
 "Héer, Echo, and art thou thear? (sayz he) Ah, hoow mooch

To him, boyes, counter, to him, to him!
 Talhot, a Talbot, a Talbot!"

"Such is the cry,
 "And such th' harmonious din, the soldier deems
 The battle kindling, and the statesman grave
 Forgets his weighty cares; each age, each sex,
 In the wild transport joins!" —Somerville, in *Nichols*, i. 436.

¹ Bp. Percy mistakes his appellation of the print at the end of the third volume of his *Old Ballads*; it being the *hombre salvaggio* of Laneham.—*Nichols*, i. 436.

² *For, before* . . the radical meaning is 'in front of' . . *For* in composition has the meaning of 'out, without,' . . to *forget* is to away-get, to lose from memory . . In French we have *forjeter* to jut out.—*Wedgwood*, ii. 82. *For-grown*, grown away, grown over.

³ Fr. *contenancer*, to . . grace, maintaine, give countenance vnto; also, to frame, or set the face handsomely; to give it a gracefull and constant garbe.—*Cotgrave*.

⁴ *Orig. hiw.*

hast thou relieued my carefull spirits with thy curtezy onward! A, my good Echo, héer iz a marueilloouz prezenz of dignitée! what are they, I pray thée? who iz Souerain? tell me, I beséech thee, or elz hoow moought I kno?" "I kno" (quoth shee). "Knoest thou?" sayz hee: "Mary, that iz exceedingly well: why then, I dezire thée hartily to sho mée what Maiestie (for no mean degréé iz it) haue wee héer: a King or a Quéén?" "A Queen" (quoth Echo.) "A Quéén?" sayez hee. Pauzing and wisely viewing a while, "noow full certeynlie seemez thy tale to be true." And procéding by this maner of dialog, with an earnest beholding her highnes a while, recounts he first hoow iustly that foormer reports agrée with hiz present sight: toouching the beautifull linaments of coountinauns, the cumly proportion of body, the princly [tp. 20.] grace of prezenz, *the* graciouz giftz †of nature, with the rare and singular qualities of both body and mind in her Maiesty conioynd, and so apparant at ey. Then shortly rehearsing Saterdaiz acts: of Sibils salutation, of the Porters proposition, of hiz Trumpetocours muzik, of the Lake ladiez oration, of the seauen Gods seauen prezents: hee reporteth the incredibl ioy that all estatez in the land haue allweyz of her highnes whear so euer it¹ cums: éendeth with presage and prayer of perpetuall felicitée, and with humbl subiection of him and hizzen², & all that they may do. After this sort the matter went with littl differens, I gesse, sauing only in this point: that the thing which héer I report in vnpolisht proez, waz thear pronounced in good méeter and matter, very wel indighted in rime. Echo finely framed most aptly by answerz thus to vtter all.³ And I shall tell yoo, master Martin, by the mass, of a mad auenture: az thiz Sauage, for the more submission, brake hiz trée a sunder, kest the top from him, it had almost light vpon her highnes hors head: whereat he startld, and the gentlman mooch dismayd. Séé the benignitée of the Prins, az the foot men lockt well too the hors, and hee of Generositée †soon callmd [tp. 21.] of him self, "no hurt, no hurt!" quoth her highnes. Which words, I promis yoo, wee wear all glad to héer, & took them too be the best part of the play.

¹ ? she.

² his'n, *gen. plur.* of *his*.

³ The speech of the Savage man, and his dialogue with Echo, all in verse, 'devised, penned and pronounced by Master Gascoyne,' are given in his *Princely Pleasures*, p. 12-21, ed. 1821.—*Nichols*, i. 437.

Tuesday. 4. Tuesday, pleazaunt passing of the time with muzik & daunsyng: sauing that toward night it liked her Maiesty too walk a foot into the Chase ouer the Bridge: whear it pleased her to stand, while vpon the Pool, out of a Barge fine appoynted for the purpoze, too heer sundry kinds of very delectabl Muzik. Thus recreated, & after sum wallk, her highnes returned.

Wedns. 5. Wednesday, her Maiesty rode intoo the chase a hunting again of the hart of fors. The Deer, after hiz property, for refuge took the soyl: but [was] so masterd by hote pursuit on al parts, that he was taken quik in the pool: the watermen held him vp hard by the hed, while at her highnes commaundement he lost hiz earz for a raundsum, and so had pardon of lyfe.

The Hart
pardoned.

Thursday 6. Thursday, the fourteenth of this Iuly, and the syxth day of her Maiestyez cumming: a great sort of bandogs¹ whear thear tyed in the vtter Coourt, and thyrteen bearz² in the inner. Whoosoener made the pannell, thear wear inoow for a Queast, & †one for challenge, & néed wear. A wight of great wizzardom and grauitée séemed their forman to be,

A queast
of Bearz.
[†p. 22.]

¹ Bewick describes the Ban-dog as being a variety of the mastiff, but lighter, smaller, and more vigilant; although at the same time not so powerful. The nose is also less, and possesses somewhat of the hound's scent; the hair is rough, and of a yellowish-grey colour, marked with shades of black. The bite of a Ban-dog is keen, and considered dangerous; and its attack is usually made upon the flank. Dogs of this kind are now rarely to be met with.—*Burns*, p. 98; *Kenilworth Illustrated*, App. 14; *Nichols*, i. 438.

² Bear-baitings were at this time not only considered as suitable exhibitions before the Queen and her nobles, but the amusement was under the particular patronage of her Majesty. An Order of Privy Council, in July 1591, prohibits the exhibition of Plays on Thursdays, because on Thursdays bear-baiting, and such like pastimes, had been usually practised; and an injunction to the same effect was sent to the Lord Mayor, wherein it is stated, that "in divers places the players do use to recite their plays to the great hurt and destruction of the game of bear-baiting, and like pastimes, which are maintained for her Majesty's pleasure."—When confined at Hatfield House, Elizabeth and her sister Mary were recreated with a grand exhibition of bear-baiting, "with which their Highnesses were right well content." (Warton's *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, sect. iii. p. 85.) The French Ambassadors were, soon after her ascension of the throne, entertained with bear and bull-baiting, and she stood to see the exhibition until six in the evening. A similar exhibition took place the next day at Paris-garden for the same party. The Danish Ambassador, twenty-seven years afterwards, was entertained by a like spectacle at Greenwich. The Bear-gardens on the Bankside are too well known to be noticed here, further than to mention that Crowley, a poet [parson and printer] in the time of Henry VIII. describes them as then existing, that they exhibited on Sundays, and the price of admission to Paris-garden was one halfpenny.—*Kenilworth Illustrated*, App., 14; *Nichols*, i. 438.

had it cum to a lury : But it fell out that they wear cauzd too appeer thear vpon no such matter, but onlie too aunswear too an auncient quarrell betwéen them and the bandogs, in a cause of controuersy that hath long depended, béen obstinatly full often debated with sharp and byting arguments a both sydes, and coold neuer bee decided: grown noow too so marueyloous a mallys, that with spitefull obrayds and vncharitabl chaffings alweiz they freat, az far az any whear the ton can héer, see, or smell the toother : and indeed at vtter deadly fohod.¹ Many a maymd member, (God wot,) blody face, & a torn cote, hath the quarrell cost betwéene them ; so far likely the lesse yet noow too be appeazd, az thear wants not partakerz too bak them a both sidez.

Well, syr, the Bearz wear brought foorth intoo the Court, the Dogs set too them, too argu the points eeuen face too face : they had learnd ccounsell allso a both parts : what, may they be coounted parciall that are retaind but a to² syde ?

[tp. 23.] I wéen no. Very féers, both ton and toother, & teager in argument : if the dog in pleadyng woold pluk the bear by the throte, the bear with trauers woould claw him again by the skalp, confess & a list, but a-voyd a coold not, that waz bound too the bar : and hiz ccounsell told him that it coold bee too him no pollecy in pleading.

Thearfore thus, with fending & proouing, with plucking & tugging, skratting³ & byting, by plain tooth & nayll a too side & toother, such expens of blood & leather waz thear between them, az a moonths licking (I wéen) wyl not recouer : and yet remain az far out az euer they wear.

It waz a sport very pleazaunt, of théez beastz : too sée the bear with hiz pink nyez⁴ léering after hiz enmiez approach, the nimblness & wayt⁵ of the dog too take hiz auantage, and the fors & experiens of the bear agayn too auoyd the assaults : if he wear bitten in one place, hoow he woould pynch in an oother too get frée : that if he wear taken onez, then what shyft, with byting, with clawyng, with roring, tossing & tumbling, he woould woork too wynde hym self from them : and when he waz lose, too shake hiz earz twyse or thyrse wyth the blud & the slauer aboutt hiz fiz-

[tp. 24.] namy, waz ta matter of a goodly reléef.⁶

¹ foehood, feud.

² on one.

³ *scrat*, to scratch.—*Brœckett's Gloss.*

⁴ See *Notes* at the end.

⁵ watch.

⁶ So evidently thought also the nobles of Elizabeth's court (p. 16, note 2),

Gunshot & fyrework. Az this sport waz had a day time in the Castl, so waz thear abrode at night very straunge and sundry kindez of fier works¹, compeld by cunning too fly too and fro, and too moount very hy intoo the ayr² vpwward, and allso too burn vnquenshabl in the water beneath: contrary, yee wot, too fyerz kinde. This, intermingld with a great peal of guns: which all gaue, both too the ear and to the ey, the greater grace and delight, for that with such order and art they wear tempered tooching³ time and continuauns, that waz about too houres space.

Tumbling Noow within allso in the mean time waz thear of the sheawed before her highnes, by an Italian, such Italian. feats of agilitiee, in goinges, turninges, tumblings, castinges, hops, iumps, leaps, skips, springs, gambaud⁴, soomersauts, caprettiez⁵ and flights: forward, backward, syde wize, a doownward, vpwward, and with sundry windings, gyrings⁶, and circumflexions: allso lightly, and with such easines, az by mee in feaw words it iz not expressibl by pen or speech, I tell yoo plain. I bleast me, by my faith, to behold him, and began to doout whither a waz a man or a

whose 'moral grace' Mr. Froude holds has departed, and is not with us Victorians. *Short Studies on great Subjects* quoted in the Forewords to my *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*. (E. E. Text Soc. 1869). Set beside the moral grace that delighted in bear-baiting, the opinion of the old puritan Stubbes in 1583, whom the gracious nobles would have no doubt called a coarse and vulgar brute: "is not the baiting of a bear besides that it is a filthie, stinking, and lothsome game, a daungerous and perilous exercyse? wherein a man is in daunger of his life every minut of an howre; which thing, though it ware not so, yet what exercyse is this meet for any Christian? What Christen heart can take pleasure to see one poore beast to-rent, teare, and kill another, and all for his foolish pleasure? And although they be bloody beasts to mankind, and seeke his destruction, yet we are not to abuse them, for his sake who made them, and whose creatures they are. . . . And some, who take themselves for no small fooles, are so farre assotted that they will not stick to keep a dozen or a score of great mastives and bandogs, to their no small charges, for the maintenance of this goodly game (forsooth); and wil not make anie bones of xx. xl. c. pound at once to hazard on a bait, with "feight dog," "feight beare," (say they), "the devill part all!" And, to be plaine, I thinke the devill is the maister of the game, beareward and all. A goodly pastime, forsooth! worthie of commendation! and wel fitting these gentlemen of such reputation!"—*Anatomie of Abuses*, ed. 1583, Collier's reprint, p. 177-8.

¹ See *Nichols*, vol. i. p. 319, under the year 1572, when Fireworks were introduced for the Queen's amusement at Warwick.—N.

² *Orig. ayz.*

³ *Orig. coouching.*

⁴ *Gambade*, a gamboll, yew-game, tumbling-tricke. *Gambader*, to turne heeles ouer head, make many gambols, fetch many friskes, shew tumbling tricks.—*Cotgrave*.

⁵ *Capriot*, a caper in dauncing.—*Cotgrave*. Sp. *capriola*, a caper or lofty tricke in dauncing.—*Minsheu*.

⁶ *L. gyrus*, a circle, circuit.

[†p. 25.] spirite; and I wéen had †docouted mée till this day, had it not been that anon I bethought me of men that can reazon & talk with too toongs, and with too parsons at onez, sing like burds, curteiz of behaiour, of body strong, and in ioyns so nymbel withall, that their bonez séem az lythie and plyaunt az syneuz. They dwel in a happy Iland (az the booke tearmz it) four moonths sayling Southward beyond Ethiop.¹

Diodor.
Sicul. De
anti. Egyp-
tiorum

Nay, Master Martin, I tell you no iest: for both Diadorus Siculus, an auncient Greeke historiographer, in his third book of the acts of the oldd Egyp-cians²: and also from him, Conrad Gesnerus³ a great

¹ See Mandeville (from Pliny) on Ethiopie, p. 157, ed. 1839. There, are the 'folk that han but o foote: and thei gon so fast that it is marvaylle: and the foot is so large, that it schadewethe alle the Body azen the Sonne, whanne thei wole lye and reste hem.'

² The reference made in the text to the third book of this author is erroneous; the passage alluded to, being in the fourth chapter of the second book, the which, as it tends more perfectly to illustrate Laneham's remarks, is here extracted from Booth's translation of Diodorus Siculus, page 82. "The inhabitants are much unlike to us in this part of the world, both as to their bodies and their way of living; but among themselves, they are for form and shape like one to another, and in stature about four cubits high (six feet). They can bend and turn their bodies like unto nerves; and as the nervous parts, after motion ended, return to their former state and position, so do their bones. Their bodies are very tender, but their nerves far stronger than ours, for whatever they grasp in their hands, none are able to wrest out of their fingers. They have not the least hair on any part of their bodies, but upon their heads, eyebrows, eyelids, and chins; all other parts are so smooth, that not the least down appears anywhere. They are very comely and well-shaped, but the holes of their ears are much wider than ours, and have something like little tongues growing out of them. Their tongues have something in them singular and remarkable, the effect both of nature and art; for they have partly a double tongue, naturally a little divided, but cut further inwards by art, so that it forms two, as far as to the very root, and therefore there is great variety of speech among them, and they not only imitate man's voice in articulate speaking, but the various chatterings of birds, and even all sorts of notes, as they please; and that which is more wonderful than all, is, that they can speak perfectly to two men at once, both in answering to what is said, and aptly carrying on a continued discourse relating to subject-matter in hand; so that with one part of their tongue they speak to one, and with the other part to the other." Diodorus, surnamed Siculus, because he was born at Argyra in Sicily, flourished about 44 years before the Christian era.—*Burn*, p. 98-9; *Nichols*, i. 440.

³ An eminent physician, naturalist, and scholar of the 16th century, who was born at Zurich in 1516. He was made Professor of Greek at Lausanne, and at Basil he took the degree of Doctor of Medicine. After having published many valuable works in Botany, Medicine, Natural History, and Philology, he died of the plague in the year 1565, aged forty-nine. His "Mi-thridates," mentioned in the text, is a work on the difference of tongues throughout the world.—*Burn*, p. 99; *Nichols*, i. 441.

gestis.¹ learned man, and a very diligent writer in all good
lib. 3. arguments of our time (but deceased), in the first
Mithrid. Chapter of his Mithridates reporteth the same. Az
Gesneri. for this fellow, I cannot tell what too make of him,
saue that I may gesse his bak be metalld like a Lamprey,
that haz no bone², but a lyne like to a Lute string.

Wel, syr, let him passe and his featz, and this dayz pastime
withhall; for heer iz az mooch az I can remember mee for
Thursdaiz entertainment.

Friday and Saterdag wear thear no open †sheawz
Friday. abroad, becauz the weather enclynde too sum
Saterdag. 8. moyster & wynde: that very seasonably temperd
[†p. 26.] the drought and the heat cauzed by the continuans
of fayr weather & sunshyne afore, all the whyle syns her
Maiestiez thither cumming.

Sunday 9. A Sunday, opportunely, the weather brake vp
again, and after diuine seruis in the parish church
for the Sabot day, and a frutefull sermon thear in the fore-
noon: at after noon, in woorship of this Kenelwoorth Castl,
and of God & Saint Kenelm³, whooz day forsooth by the cal-
Brideale. endar this waz: a solem brydeale⁴ of a proper
coopl waz appoynted: set in order in the tyltyard,
too cum and make thear sheaw before the Castl in the great

¹ *Orig. gestia.*

² See Dr. Christ. Bennet's ed. of Muffet's *Healths Improvement*, 1655, p. 182, in which we find, of Lampreys, and Lamprons, *Lampræta, Muræna*, that "They are best (if ever good) in March and April; for then they are so fat, that they have, in a manner, *no back-bone at all*: towards Summer they wax harder, and then they have a manifest bone, but their flesh is consumed."

³ See his Life in my *Early English Poems and Lives of Saints*, 1862, p. 47-57. He was king of the March of Wales [see above, p. 4, note], and Warwickshire was one of his counties. "His day is given as July 17 in the Primer of 1536, but as Dec. 13 by Butler."—*E. H. Knowles.*

⁴ As the account of this rustic bride-ale has a considerable share of the ludicrous mixed up with it, the following description of the procession of a bride of middle rank, from the "History of Jack of Newbury," may not be unacceptable: "The bride, being attired in a gown of sheep's russet, and a kirtle of fine worsted, attired with a'billement of gold, and her hair as yellow as gold, hanging down behind her, which was curiously combed and plaited, she was led to church between two sweet boys, with bride laces and rosemary tied about their silken sleeves. There was a fair bride-cup of silver gilt carried before her, wherein was a goodly branch of rosemary, gilded very fair, hung about with silken ribands of all colours. Musicians came next, then a group of maidens, some bearing great bride-cakes, others garlands of wheat finely gilded; and thus they passed unto the church." Out of the bride-cup, above described, it was customary for all the persons present, together with the new-married couple, to drink in the church. There is a ludicrous re-

court, whear az was pight a cumly quintine¹ for featz at armz, which, when they had don, too march out: at the northgate of the Castl, homeward againe intoo the tooun.

And thus were they marshalld. Fyrst, all the lustie lads and bolld bachelorz of the parish, sutablie euery wight with hiz blu buckeram bridelace² vpon a braunch of green broom (cauz rozemary³ iz skant thear) tyed on hiz leaft arme (for a [tp. 27.] that syde lyez the heart), and hiz allder poll †for a spear in hiz right hand, in marciall order raunged on a fore, too & too in a rank: sum with a hat, sum in a cap, sum a cote, sum a ierken, sum (for lightnes) in hiz dooblet & hiz hoze, clean trust with a point afore: sum botes & no spurz, he spurz & no boots, and he neyther nother: one a sadel, anoother a pad or a pannell fastened with a cord, for gyrts wear geazon:⁴ and théez too the number of a sixtéen

ference to this in the mad wedding of Catherine and Petruccio, the latter of whom

Quaff'd off the muscadel,
And threw the sops all in the sexton's face.

The custom, indeed, was universal, from the Prince to the Peasant; and at the marriage of the Elector Palatine to the daughter of James I. in 1613, we are informed by an eye-witness there was, "in conclusion, a joy pronounced by the King and Queen, and seconded with congratulation of the Lords there present, which crowned with draughts of Ippocras out of a great golden bowle, as an health to the prosperity of the marriage (began by the Prince Palatine and answered by the Princess.) After which were served up, by six or seven Barons, as many bowles filled with wafers, so much of that work was consummate."—*Kenilworth Illustrated*, App. 16, 17; *Nichols*, i. 441.

¹ See Brand ii. 102-3, and i. 212 (ed. 1841), referring to many authorities, and quoting Aubrey, Hasted, etc., and Blount, whose *Glossographia* (5th ed. ed. 1681, 2 years after his death) says "Quintain, a game or sport still in request at Marriages, in some parts of this Nation, specially in Shropshire, the manner now corruptly [as is clear from Laneham's account] thus: A Quintin, Buttress, or thick Plank of Wood is set fast in the ground of the High-way where the Bride and Bridegroom are to pass; and Poles are provided, with which the young men run a Tilt on Horse-back; and he that breaks most Poles, and shews most activity, wins the Garland. But Stow, in his *Survey of London*, p. 76, says, That in anno 1253, the youthfull Citizens, for an exercise of their activity, set forth a game to run at the Quintin; and whosever did best, should have a Peacock for prize, etc." Fr. *Quintaine*: f. A Quintane (or Whintane) for cuntry youthes to runne at.—*Cotgrave*, A.D. 1611.

² Blue bride-laces were worn at weddings, and given to the guests in the 16th and 17th centuries.—*Fairholt's Costume in England*, p. 520. See examples in *Brand*, ii. 81, ed. 1841, from Ben Jonson, Herrick, etc.

³ See *Brand*, ii. 74 on 'Rosemary and Bays at Weddings.'

⁴ *Geason*, scarce: 'scant and geason.'—Harrison's *England*, p. 236, in *Halliwel's Gloss*. *Geason*, an ancient word signifying rare or scarce.—See Phillips.

"And if we speake of Astronomy,
They will say it is a great lye,
For they can no other reason;

wight¹ riding men, and well beséen²: but the bridegroom for-
most, in hiz fatherz tawny worsted iacket, (for his fréends
wear fayn that he shoold be a brydegroom before the Quéén)
a fayr strawn³ hat, with a capitall crooun stéeply wyze on hiz
hed: a payr of haruest glouez on hiz hands, az a sign of
good husbandry: a pen & inkorn at his bak, for he woold
be knowen to be bookish; lame of a leg, that in his yooth was
broken at football⁴: wellbeloued yet of hiz mother, that lent
him a nu mufflar for a napkin, that was tyed too hiz gyrdl
for⁵ lozyng: It was no small sport too marke this minion in
hiz full apointment, that through good scoolation becam az
formall in his action az had he béen a bride groom indéed:

[tp. 28.] with this special grace by the wey, that euer az †he
woold haue framed him the better countenauns,
with the woors face he lookt.

Well, syr, after théez horsmen, a liuely morisdauns⁶, ac-

But all that knoweth good and better,
As gentleman that loveth swete and swetter,
Wisdom with them is not *geason*," &c.

Shepherd's Kalendar, sign A. 56.

¹ active.

² clad. *ib.*

³ straw-en, made of straw.

⁴ See Stubbes's most amusing account of this Sunday-game, in his *Anatomic of Abuses*, p. 184 of Collier's reprint of the 1st ed. 1583: "as concerning football playing, I protest unto you it may rather be called a frendly kinde of fight, then a play or recreation; a bloody and murdering practise, than a felowly sporte or pastime. For dooth not every one lye in waight for his aduersarie, seeking to overthrowe him, and to picke [= pitch] him on his nose, though it be upon hard stones? in ditch or dale, in valley or hil, or what place soever it be, hee careth not, so he have him down. And he that can serve the most of this fashion, he is counted the only felow; and who but he? So that by this means, sometimes their backs, *sometime their legs*, sometime their armes; sometime one part thrust out of joynt, sometime an other; sometime the noses gush out with blood, sometime their eyes start out, and sometimes hurt in one place, sometimes in another. But whosoever scapeth away the best, goeth not scotfree, but is either sore wounded, craised, and brused, so as he dyeth of it, or els scapeth very hardly. And no mervaile, for they have the sleights to meet one betwixt two, to dashe him against the hart with their elbowes, to hit him under the short ribbes with their griped fists, and with their knees to catch him upon the hip, and to pitch him on his neck, with a hundred such murdering devices: and hereof groweth envie, malice, rancour, cholor, hatred, displeasure, enmitie, and what not els: and sometimes fighting, brawling, contention, quarrel-picking, murder, homicide, and great effusion of blood, as experience dayly teacheth.

"Is this murdering play, now, an exercise for the sabaoth day? is this a Christian dealing, for one brother to mayme and hurt another, and that upon prepensd malice or set purpose? is this to do to another as we would wish another to doo to us? God make us more careful over the bodies of our brethren!"

⁵ against, to prevent, losing it.
⁶ See 'Morris Dancers' in Brand, i. 142-155, ed. 1841.—Blount's *Glossographia*, there quoted, gives only six performers, as against Laneham's eight: "*Morisco* (Span.) a Moor; also a Dance so called, wherein there were usually

cording too the auncient manner, six daunserz, Mawdmarion, and the fool. Then, thrée prety puzels¹ az bright az a breast of bacon, of a thirtie yéere old² a pées, that carried thrée special spisecakes³ of a bushell of wheat, (they had it by meazure out of my Lord's backhouse⁴;) before the Bryde: Syzely, with set countenauns, and lips so demurely simpring, az it had béen a Mare cropping of a thistl. After théez, a loouely loober woorts⁵, freklfaced, red headed, cléen trust in his dooblet & hiz hoze, taken vp now in déed by commission, for that hee waz so loth to cum forward, for reuerens (helike) of hiz nu cut canuas⁶ dooblet: & woold by hiz good will haue béen but a gazer, but found too bée a meet actor for hiz offis: that waz, to beare the bridecup, foormed of a sweet sucket⁷ barrell, a faire turnd foot set too it, all seemly besyluerd and parcell⁸ gilt, adourned with a bea[u]tiful braunch of broom, gayly begilded for rosemary: from which, too brode brydelaces of red and yelloo buckeram begilded, and galauntly streaming by such wind az thear †waz (for hée [tp. 29.] carried it aloft :) This gentl cupbearer yet had hiz freckld foznemy sumwhat vnhappily infested, az hee went, by the byzy flyez, that floct about the bride cup for the swéetnes of the sucket that it saoured on: but hée, like a tall fello, withstood their mallis stoutly (sée what manhood may do!), het them away, kild them by scores, stood to hiz charge, and marched on in good order.

five Men, and a Boy dressed in a Girls habit, whom they call the *Maid Marrion* . . . Common people call it a *Morris Dance*." Brand's quotation, i. 149, from *Cobbe's Prophecies*, 1614, says that

. . . cheefest of them all, the Foole
Plaied with a ladle and a toole.

¹ Fr. *pucelle*, a maid, virgine; girle, damsell, mother.—*Cotgrave*.

² Nichols's copy reads 'a thirtie-five yeer old.'

³ See Brand on Bride-cake, ii. 62-4, ed. 1841.

⁴ bakehouse.

⁵ Fr. *Baligaut*: m. An unweldy lubber, great lobecke, huge luske, misshapen lowt, ill-favoured flabergullion.—*Cotgrave*. '*Loobber woorts*, a dull, heavy, and useless fellow. The word is probably derived from the Danish *lubben*, gross, or fat, and *vorte*, a wart or wen.—See Wolf. Shakespeare uses the latter word somewhat in this sense, when he makes Prince Henry say to Falstaff, "I do allow this *wen* to be as familiar with me as my dog."—*Burn*, p. 100; *Nichols*, i. 443.

⁶ Cp. Laneham's saying of himself, p. 57, below. "I go noow in my sylks, that else might ruffl in my *cut canuas*,"—poor man's clothes.

⁷ *Suckets*, dried sweet-meats or sugar-plums; that which is sucked.—*Nares*: see the quotations there, and cp. Fr. *dragée* any jonkets, confets, or sweet-meats, served in as the last course (or otherwise) for stomake-closers.—*Cotgrave*.

⁸ partly.—*Burn*.

Then folloed the worshipfull Bride, led (after the cuntrie maner) betwéen too auncient parishionerz, honest tooonsmen. But a stale stallion¹ and a wel spred, (hot az the weather waz,) God wot, and an il smelling, waz she : a thirtie² yéer old, of colour brounbay, not very beautifull in déed, but vgly, fooul, ill fauord : yet marueyloous fain of the offis, because shee hard say shee shoold dauns before the Quéen, in which feat shée thought shee woold foote it az finely az the best : Well, after this bride cam thear, by too and too, a dozen damzels for bridemaides : that for fauor, attyre, for facion and clean-lines, were az meete for such a bride, az a tréen³ ladl for a porige pot : mo, but for fear of carring all clean, had béen appointed : but theez feaw wear inoow.

[†p. 30.] †Az the company in this order wear cum into the court, maruelous wear the marciall acts that wear doon thear that day.

The Brydegroome for preeminens had the fyrst Running at Quintine. coors at the Quintyne, brake hiz spear *tres hardiment* : but his mare in hiz manage did a littl so titubate⁴, that mooch a doo had hiz manhod to sit in his sadl, & too scape the foyl of a fall : with the help of his band, yet he recoouerd himself, and lost not hiz styrops (for he had none too his saddl) : had no hurt, as it hapt, but only that hiz gyrt burst, and lost hiz pen & inkorn, that he waz redy to wep for. But hiz handkercher, az good hap waz, found he safe at his gyrdl : that chéerd him sumwhat, & had good regard it shoold not be fyeld. For though heat & coolnes vpon sundry occasions made him sumtime too sweat, and sumtime rumatick : yet durst he be bollder too blo hiz noze, & wype hiz face, with the flapet of his fatherz iacket⁵, then with hiz mothers mufflar ;—tiz a goodly matter, when yooth iz manerly brought vp in fatherly looue & motherly aw.

¹ *Stallion*, a term of reproval, applied to a woman in the Life of Long Meg of Westminster, 1635. Cotgrave's first meaning for *Estalon* is, 'a Stallion for Mares;' his second meaning 'a stale (as a Larke, etc.) wherewith Fowlers raine silly birds unto their destruction.'

² Nichols, following a Bodleian copy, reads "thirtie-five." Ed. 1788, i. 19.

³ made of tree or wood.

⁴ *Titubant* tripping, stumbling, staggering.—*Cotgrave*.

⁵ Yf thy nose thou clense, as may befalle,
Loke thy honde thou clense, as wythe-alle,
Priuely with skyrt do hit away,
Other ellis thurghe thi tepet that is so gay.

Boke of Custasye, ab. 1460 A.D., in *Babes Book*, p. 301, l. 89-92.

Noow, syr, after the Brydegroom had made hiz coors, ran the rest of the band a †whyle in sum order, but [†p. 31.] soon after, tag and rag¹, cut & long tail²: whear the specialty of the sport waz, to see, how sum for hiz slakness had a good bob with the bag³, and sum for his haste too topl dooun right, & cum tumbling to the post: sum stryuing so mooch at the first setting out, that it séemd a question betwéene the man & the beast, whither the coors should be made a horsback or a foot: and put fourth with the spurz, then wold run hiz race byas⁴ among the thickest of the throng, that dooun came they toogyther, hand ouer hed: anoother, whyle he directed hiz coors to the quintyne, hiz iument⁵ wouold cary him too a mare amoong the pepł: so hiz hors az amoroos, az him selfe aduenturoos. Another, too run & miss the quintyne with hiz staff, and hit the boord with his hed.

Many such gay gamez wear thear among théez ryderz: who by & by after, vpon a greater coorage, leaft thear quintining, and ran one at anoother. Thear to sée the stearn countenauns, the grym looks, the cooragious attempts, the desperat aduventurez, the daungeroos cooruez⁶, the féers encounterz, whearby the buff⁷ at the man, and the cocounter- [†p. 32.] buff at the hors, that †both sumtime cam topling to the ground. By my trooth, Master Martyn, twaz a

¹ *En bloc et en tasche*, one with another, tag and rag, all together.—*Cotgrave*.

² This phrase [*cut and long tail*] occurs in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, where Slender after the declaration of Shallow, that he shall maintain Ann Page like a gentlewoman, says, "Ay, that I will, come *cut and long-tail*, under the degree of a squire." It is also found in the *First Part of the Eighth Liberal Science*, entitled, "*Ars Adulandi*," &c, devised and compiled by Ulpian Fulwell 1576, "Yea, even their very dogs, Rug, Rig, and Risbie, yea, *cut and long-taille*, they shall be welcome." Many other instances of the usage of this phrase are to be met with in old plays, and it seems probable that it originally referred to horses only, which might be denominated *cut and long-tail*, as they were curtailed of this appendage or allowed its full growth: and this might be practised according to their value or uses. In this view, *cut and long-tail*, would include the whole species of horses, good and bad, and such appears to be the comprehensive meaning of the phrase.—*Kenilworth Illustrated*, App. 19; *Nichols*, i. 445.

³ Hung at the other end of the cross-bar of the quintain-pole.

⁴ *Biais*: m. Byas, compasse, aslope, or sloping.—*Cotgrave*.

⁵ stallion; though Fr. *jument* is a mare. Lat. *jumentum*, a beast of burden.

⁶ 'curves,' as Mr. Knowles suggests; not for 'courses;' or from Fr. *Corvée*, *Courvée*, a dayes worke, due by a Tenant vnto his Lord. *Il a fait vne grande courvée*, he hath done a great dayes worke, he hath made a long dayes iourney; or, he hath dispatched the matter with verie much toyle.—*Cotgrave*.

⁷ *Buffe*: f. A buffet, blow, cuffe, boxe, or whirret on the care, &c.—*Cotgrave*.

liuely pastime; I beléue it woold haue mooued sum man too a right méery mood, though had it be toold him hiz wife lay a dying.

And héertoo folloed az good a sport (me thought) Hok Tuisday¹ by the presented in an historicall ku², by certain good Counstree harted men of Couentrée³, my Lordes neighbors men.

theare: who, vnderstanding amoong them *the* thing that coold not bee hidden from ony, hoow carefull and studious hiz honor waz, that by all pleazaunt recreasions her highnes might best fynd her self wellcom, and bee made gladsum and mery, (the groundworke indeede, and foundacion, of hiz Lordship's myrth and gladnesse of vs all), made petition that they moought renu noow their oldd storiall sheaw⁴:

Of argument, how the Danez whylom héere in a Florileg. li. I. fol. 300. troubluous seazon wear for quietnesse born withall,

& suffeard in peas, that anon, by outrage & importabl insolency, abuzing both Ethelred, the king then, and all estates euerie whear byside: at the greuocous complaint &

¹ See Brand and Ellis's long notes on this custom in their *Antiquities*, i. 107-114, ed. 1841.

² ? style. *Cue*. From the letter *Q*, of *quando* or *qualis* by which the place for a fresh actor's speech was marked.—See *Wedgwood*, iii. 550.

³ On the Coventry men's plays, &c. see Thomas Sharpe's "Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries anciently performed at Coventry by the Trading Companies of that City &c." 1825; and "the Coventry Mysteries," edited for the Shakspeare Society by Mr. Halliwell, 1841. "Previous to the suppression of the English Monasteries, the City of Coventry was particularly famed for the pageants which were performed in it on the 14th of June, or Corpus-Christi day. This appears to have been one of the ancient fairs; and the Grey Friars, or Friars Minors, of that City, had, as Dugdale relates, "Theatres for the several scenes very large and high, placed upon wheels, and drawn to all the eminent parts of the city, for the better advantage of the spectators; and contained the story of the Old and New Testament, composed in the Old English rhyme." Coventry appears to have derived great benefit from the numbers of persons who came to visit these Pageants.—*Burn*, p. 101; *Nichols*, i. 446.

⁴ The origin of this once popular holiday, called Hoke-day, Hoke-tuesday, or Hoke-tide, is involved in considerable obscurity. By some writers it is supposed to be commemorative of the massacre of the Danes in the reign of Ethelred, on the 13th of November, 1002; whilst by others, the deliverance of the English from the tyranny of the Danes, by the death of Hardicanute, on Tuesday the 8th of June, 1042, is pointed out as its origin. Our author adopts the former hypothesis, though the weight of argument preponderates in favour of the national deliverance by Hardicanute's death; and it must not be forgotten that the festival was celebrated on a Tuesday, and that Hoke-tuesday was the Tuesday in the second week after Easter. Various conjectures have been offered respecting the etymology of the word *Hoke*. Lambard imagined it to be a corruption of *Huertyde*, the time of scorning or mocking. Bryant prefers *Hock*, *high*, apprehending that *Hock-day* means no more than a high day; but Mr. Denne, in a very learned memoir upon this subject, printed in the

coounsell of Huna, the king's chieftain in warz, on Saint [fp. 33.] Brices night, Ann. Dom. 1012.¹ † (Az the book sayz) that falleth yéerely on the thirtéenth of Nouember, wear all dispatcht, and the Ream rid. And for becauz the matter mencioneth how valiantly our English women for looue of their cuntrée behaued themseluez: expressed in actionz & rymez after their maner, they thought it moought moue sum myrth to her Maiestie the rather.

The thing, said they, iz grounded on story, and for pastime woot too bee plaid in oour Citee yéerely: without ill exampl of mannerz, papistry, or ony superstition: and elz did so occupy the heads of a number, that likely inoough wold haue had woorz meditationz: had an auncient beginning, and a long continuauns: tyll noow of late laid docun, they knu no cauz why, onless it wear by the zeal of certain theyr Preacherz²: men very commendabl for their behaiour and learning, & swéet in their sermons, but sumwhat too sour in preaching awey theyr pastime³: wisht therefore, that az they should continu their good doctrine in pulpet, so, for matters of pollicy & gouernauns of the Citie, they wold per-

Archæologia, vol. vii. p. 244, &c., adopts Spelman's derivation of the term from the German *Hochen*, in reference to the practice of *binding*, which was formerly practised by the women upon the men upon Hoke-tuesday; though he considers this as metaphorical, and that the German word for marriage, or a wedding-feast, *Hock-zeit*, is more immediately applicable, because it was at the wedding feast of a Danish Lord, with the daughter of a Saxon Nobleman, that Hardicanute died suddenly, not without suspicion of being poisoned.—*Nichols*, i. 446.

¹ More correctly 1002.—*Kenilworth Illustrated*, 20; *Nichols*.

² Compare Stubbes's chapter 'Of Stage-plays and Enterludes, with their wickednes,' *Anatomie*, p. 134-141; Northbrooke's Treatise on Dicing, Dancing, Plays and Interludes, &c., 1577, A.D. (Shaksp. Soc. 1843), &c. &c.

³ While the Catholic Religion was the established faith of England, there were, in connection with it, many public amusements and festivals, by which all the orders of society were entertained; such as the performance of Moralities or sacred plays, popular customs to be observed on certain vigils and Saints' days, and the keeping of the many holidays enjoined by the Romish Calendar, in the pastimes common to the lower classes. In the commencement of most reformatations in society, it is common to find the reverse of wrong assumed for right; and hence the Puritans, who increased rapidly after the English Reformation, not only banished all those festivals and customs peculiar to the Catholic religion, but also violently declaimed against popular pastimes, innocent in themselves, but condemned by them because they had existed in former times. This illiberal spirit of denouncing public amusements, was, however, not without some opposition; Randolph severely attacked "the sanctified fraternity of Blackfriars," in his "Muses Looking Glass," and Ben Jonson scarcely ever let them pass without some satirical remark. In the Monologue, or "Masque of Owls," the latter of which, as it was performed at Kenilworth, in the Reign of Charles I., is most to the pre-

mit them to the Mair and Magistratez : and seyed, by my
 [fp. 34.] feyth, Master Martyn, they †woold make theyr
 humbl petition vntoo her highnes, that they might
 haue theyr playz vp agayn.

Captain But aware, kéepe bak, make room noow, heer they
 Cox. cum! And fyrst, captin Cox, an od man I promiz yoo:
 by profession a Mason, and that right skilfull, very cunning

sent purpose; the third owl is intended to represent a Puritan of Coventry, one of those who contributed to put down the Coventry plays, and is thus described:—

HEY OWL THIRD.

“ A pure native bird
 This, and though his hue
 Be Coventry blue,
 Yet is he undone
 By the thread he has spun ;
 For since the wise town
 Has let the sports down
 Of May-games and Morris,
 For which he right sorry is ;
 Where their maids and their makes,

At dancings and wakes,
 Had their napkins and posies,
 And the wipers for their noses,
 And their smocks all-be-wrought
 With his thread which they bought :
 It now lies on his hands,
 And having neither wit or lands,
 Is ready to hang or choke him,
 In a skein of that that broke him.”

From the above keen satire may be gathered, that in abolishing of the Coventry Pageants, the trade of that City suffered considerably. The chief staple of the place was the manufactory of blue thread, of which a great consumption was formerly made in the embroidering of scarfs and napkins. But beside the decay of trade in Coventry, occasioned by the loss of the Pageants, the unpatriotic taste for articles of foreign production, was also of considerable detriment to that, as well as to the other manufacturing Towns of England. In a very rare tract, entitled, “ A Briefe Concepte of English Pollicye,” Lond. 1681, with the initials W. S., and ascribed to Shakspeare, but in reality written by W. Stafford, there are the following passages concerning the effect of this destructive fashion upon the staple of Coventry: and as they tend so particularly to illustrate the period of the Kenilworth pageants, and Laneham’s own manners, which were so strongly tingured with foreign fopperies, it is presumed that their insertion will not be unacceptable to the reader: (fo. 48) “ I will tell you : while men were contented with such as were made in the market-townes next vnto them, then were they of our Townes & Cities well set a worke : as I knewe the time when men were content with Cappes, Hattes, Gyrdels, and Poyntes, and all manner of garmentes made in the townes next adioyning, whereby the Townes were then well occupied and set a worke, and yet the money payd for the same stufte remayned in the countrey. Now, the poorest young man in a countrey cannot be content with a lether gyrdle, or lether poyntes, Kniues or Dagggers, made nigh home. And specially no Gentleman can be contente to haue eyther Cappe, Cote, Dublet, Hose, or shyрте, in his countrey, but they must haue this geare come from London ; and yet many things hereof are not there made, but beyond the sea : whereby the artificers of our good townes are idle, and the occupations in London, and specially of the townes beyond the seaces, are well set a worke euen vpon our costes. . . (f. 49) I haue heard say that the chiefe trade of Couentry was heretofore in making of blew threde, and then the towne was riche euen vpon that trade in manner onely ; and now our thredde comes all from beyond Sea. Wherefore that trade of Couentry is decayed, and thereby the towne likewise.” (fol. 49).—In consequence, therefore, of the desire for foreign articles of dress

in fens, and hardy az Gawin; for hiz tonsword¹ hangs at his tablz éend: great ouersight hath he in matters of storie: For, az for king Arthurz book², Huon of Burdeaus, The four

and ornament, England, which had been hitherto in a great measure supplied from her own resources, became about the close of the 16th century filled with manufactures which were imported from the Continent; while at the same time the most important British productions were exchanged for what, in a commercial sense, might be considered only as superfluities. This, also, is very forcibly hinted at in the pamphlet before quoted, in the following manner:—"And I maruell no man takes heede to it, what number first of trifles comes hether from beyond the sea, that wee might either cleane spare, or els make them within our realme, for the which wee either pay inestimable treasure euery yere, or else exchange substantiall wares and necessary, for them, for the which we might receaue great treasure. Of the which sort I meane as well looking-glasses as drinking, and also to glaze windowes, Dialles, Tables, Cardes, Balles, Puppettes, Penncers [pen-cases], Inkehorns, Toothe-picks, Gloues, Kniues, Dagges, Owches [jewels or ornaments], Brouches, Agglettes [the metal ends of tags or laces], Buttons of silke & siluer, Earthen pots, Pinnes and Pointes, Hawkes belles, Paper both white and browne, and a thousand like thinges that might either be cleane spared, or els made within the realme, sufficient for vs; and as for some thinges, they make it of our owne commodities, and send it vs againe, whereby they set their people a worke, and doe exhauste much treasure out of this Realme: as, of our woll they make Clothes, Cappes, and Kerseis; of our felles [hides] they make Spanish skins, Gloues, and Girdels; of our Tinne, Saltsellers, Spoones, and Dishes; of our broken Linnen, clothes and ragges, Paper both white and browne. What Treasure (thinke yee) goes out of this Realme for euery of these thinges? and then for all together, it exceedes myne estimation. There is no man that can be contented now with any other Gloues than be made in Fraunce or in Spayne; nor Kersie, but it must be of Flaunders die; nor Cloth, but French, or Fryseadowe; nor Ouche, Brooch, or Agglet, but of Venice making, or Millen; nor Dagger, Swearde, Knife, or Gyrdle, but of Spanish making, or some outward countrey; no, not as much as a Spurre, but that is fetched at the Millener. I haue heard within these xl. yeaers, when there were not of these Haberdashers that selles French or Millen Cappes, Glasses, Kniues, Daggers, Swordes, Gyrdels, and such thinges, not a dosen in all London: & now from the Tower to Westminster alonge, euery streete is full of them; and their shoppes glitter and shyne of Glasses, as well drynking as looking, yea, all manner of vessel of the same stuffe: paynted Cruses, gaye Daggers, Knyues, Swordes, and Gyrdels, that it is able to make any temperate man to gase on them, and to buy somewhat, though it serue to no purpose necessarie."—*Burn*, p. 101-4; *Nichols*, i. 447-449. (Corrected by *Stafford*. Fol. 25. I shall re-edit the book for the E. E. Text Soc. in a year or two.)

¹ "Perhaps a one-handed sword, from *ton* the one (see p. 37), guesses Nares, who says he has not found the word anywhere else than in this tract, here, and on page 31. *Burn* (p. 106), more probably, makes it a large two-handed sword. See *Preface*. 'In the account of expenses by the Drapers' Company in Coventry on Midsummer night, 1557, occur, fifteen gunners, a flag-bearer, flute, drum, and a "wysseler." There is also the following Item, "payd for a long-sworde and the skouryng, xijd." which long sword was evidently for the person marshalling or commanding the fifteen gunners, and seems to be exactly analogous to the *tonsword* of Captain Cox."—*Kenilworth Illustrated*, App. 22; *Nichols*, i. 451.

² For notes on all this and the following names of books, ballads, etc., see the *Forewords*.

suns of Aymon, Beuys of Hampton, The squyre of lo degré, The knight of courtesy, and the Lady Faguell, Frederik of Gene, Syr Eglamour, Sir Tryamour, Sir Lamwell, Syr Isenbras, Syr Gawyn, Olyuer of the Castl, Lucres and Eurialus¹, Virgil's life, The castle of Ladiez, The wido Edyth, The King & the Tanner, Frier Rous, Howleglas, Gargantua, Robinhood, Adambel, Clim of the clough, & William of Cloudesley, The Churl & the Burd, The seauen wise Masters, The wife lapt in a Morel's skin, The sak full of nuez, The seargeaunt that became a Fryar, Skogan, Collyn cloout, The Fryar & the boy, Elynor Ruming, and the Nutbrooun [tp. 35.] maid, with many moe †then I rehearz héere: I bé-léue hee haue them all at hiz fingers endz.

Then, in Philosophy, both morall & naturall, I think he be az naturally ouerseen²: beside poetrie and Astronomie, and oother hid sciencez, as I may gesse by the omberty³ of hiz books: whearof part az I remember, the Sheperdz kalender, The Ship of Foolz, Danielz dreamz, the booke of Fortune, *Stans puer ad mensam*, the hy way to the Spithouse, Iulian of Brainford's testament, the castle of Loue, the booget of Demaunds, the hundred Mery talez, the book of Riddels, the Seauen sororz of wemen, the prooud wiues Pater noster, the Chapman of a peniwoorth of Wit: Beside hiz auncient playz, Yooth & charitee, Hikskorner, Nugize, Impacient pouerty; and héerwith, doctor Boord's breuiary of health. What should I rehearz heer, what a bunch of ballets & songs, all auncient: Az Broom broom on hil. So wo iz me begon, trolly lo. Ouer a whinny Meg. Hey ding a ding. Bony lass vpon a gréen. My bony on gaue me a bek. By a bank az I lay: and a hundred more, he hath, fair wrapt vp in Parchment, and bound with a whipcord.

[tp. 36.] And az for Allmanaks of antiquitée, (a †point for Ephemerides) I wéene hee can sheaw from Iasper Laet of Antwarp vnto Nostradam of Frauns, and thens vnto our John Securiz of Salsbury. To stay ye no longer héerin, I dare say hee hath az fair a library for théez sciencez, & az many goodly monuments both in proze & poetry, & at

¹ Nichols reads 'Curialus,' ed. 1788, vol. i. p. 23.

² Well-read, learned: cp. Fr. *retraicter*, to revise, peruse, overlook, oversee, run over.—*Cotgrave*.

³ ?shadowing. Cp. 'coming events cast their shadows before;' and Fr. *Vn poil fait ombre*: Prov. A haire makes a shadow; the smallest things haue their shadows; viz. their vse, or some ornament.—*Cotgrave*.

afternoonz can talk az much without boock, az ony Inholder betwixt Brainford¹ and Bagshot, what degree soeuer he be.

Beside thiz, in the field a good Marshall at musters²: of very great credite & trust in the toun héer, for he haz béen chozen Aleconner³ many a yéere, when hiz betterz haue stonnd by: & euer quited himself with such estimation, az yet too the tast of a cup of Nippitate⁴, his iudgement will be taken aboue the best in the parish, be hiz noze near so read.

Captain Cox cam marching on valiantly before, cléen trust, & gartered aboue the knée, all fresh in a veluet cap (master Goldingham⁵ lent it him) floorishing with hiz tonsword, and another fensmaster with him: thus in the foreward making room for the rest. After them proudly prickt on formost, the Danish launsknights⁶ on horsbak, and then the English: each with their allder †poll marcially in their

hand. Eeuén at the first entrée the méeting waxt [tp. 37.] sunwhat warm: that by and by kindled with The Couen-tree play. corage a both sidez, gru from a hot skirmish vnto

a blazing battail: first by speare and shield, outragious in their racez az ramz at their rut⁷, with furious encoounterz, that togyther they tumbl too the dust, sumtime hors and man: and after fall too it with sworde & target, good bangz a both sidez: the fight so ceassing; but the battail not so ended: folloed the footmen; both the hostez, ton after toother: first marching in ranks: then warlik turning, then from ranks into squadrons, then in too trianglz; from

¹ Brentford in Middlesex, and Bagshot in Surrey, are both on the South-Western road from London. What can have made Laneham quote them here?

² See *Notes* at the end.

³ *Ale-conner* or *Ale-taster*, an Officer appointed in every Court-Leet, and Sworn to look to the Assize and Goodness of Bread, Ale and Beer, sold within the Jurisdiction of the Leet.—*Kersey's Phillips*, A.D. 1706.

⁴ See note on *Arion*, p. 34, in *Notes* at the end.

⁵ Stubbes, in his *Anatomic of Abuses*, 1595, describing the excesses at *Church-ales*, on which occasion he says ten or twenty quarters of malt is frequently made into very strong ale or beer; adds, "Then, when this *nippitatum*, this huffe-cappe, as they call it, this nectar of life, is set abroach, well is he that can get the soonest to it, and spend the most at it; for he is counted the godliest man of all the rest, and most in God's favour, because it is spent upon his Church forsooth." May not the terms *nappy-ale* and *brown-nappy*, be derived from this origin?—*Kenilworth Illustrated*, App. 23; *Nichols*, i. 455. See *Notes* at the end.

⁶ Dan. *lantse* a lance, *knegt* a knight; Germ. *lands-knecht* a foot-soldier.—*Ludwig*.

⁷ Fr. *ruit*: m. The rut of Deere or Bores; their lust; and the season wherein they ingender.—*Cotgrave*.

that intoo rings, & so winding out again: A valiant captain of great prowes, az fiers az a fox assauting a gooz, waz so hardy to giue the first stroke: then get they grisly togyther: that great waz the actiuitée that day too be séen thear a both sidez: ton very eager for purchaz¹ of pray, toother vtterly stout for redemption of libertie: thus, quarrell enflamed fury a both sidez. Twise the Danes had the better; but at the last conflict, beaten down, ouercom, and many led captiue for triumph by our English wéemen.

[tp. 38.] This waz the effect of this sheaw, that, †az it waz handled, made mooch matter of good pastime: brought all indéed intoo the great court, een vnder her highnes windo too haue been séen: but (az vnhappy it waz for the bride) that cam thither too soon, (and yet waz it a four a klok). For her highnes beholding in the chamber delectabl dauncing indéed: and héerwith the great throng and vnrulines of the people, waz cauz that this solemnitee of Brideale & dauncing, had not the full muster waz hoped for: and but a littl of the Couentrée plea her highnes also saw: comraunded thearfore on the Tuisday folloing to haue it ful oot: az accordingly it waz presented, whearat her Maiestie laught well: they wear the iocunder, and so mooch the more becauz her highnes had giuen them too buckes, and five marke in mony, to make mery togyther: they prayed for her Maiesty, long, happily to reign, & oft to cum thither, that oft they moought see héer: & what, reioycing vpon their ampl reward, and what, triumphing vpon the good acceptauns, they vaunted their play waz neuer so dignified, nor euer any players afore so beatified.

[tp. 39.] Thus though the day took an éend, yet †slipt not the night all sléeping away: for az neyther offis nor obsequy ceassed at any tyme too the full, to perform the plot hiz honor had appoynted: So, after supper waz thear a play presented of a very good theam, but so set foorth by the Actoourz wel handling, that pleasure & mirth made it seeme very short, though it lasted too good ourz and more. But stay, master Martyn, all iz not doon yet.

After the play oot of hand, folloed a most delicioouz and (if I may so terme it) an Ambrosiall Banket: whearof, whither I myght more muze at the deintynesse, shapez and the cost: or els at the variete & number of the disshez (that

¹ Fr. *pourchas*, eager pursuit, earnest chace after (*Cotgrave*) and so, gain getting, securing.

wear a three hundred), for my part I could littl tel them, and noow less, I assure yoo. Her Maiesty eat smally or nothing: which vnderstood, the coorsez wear not so orderly serued, & sizely set dooun, but wear by and by az disorderly wasted & coorsly consumed; more courtly¹, me thought, then curteously. But that was no part of *the* matter: moought it pleaz and be liked, & do that it cam for, then waz all well enough.

Vntoo this banket thear waz appoynted a mask: for [tp. 40.] riches of aray, of an incredibl† cost: but the time so far spent, and very late in the night noow, waz cauz that it cam not fourth to the sheaw. And thus for Sundayz season hauing stayd yoo the lenger (according too the matter) heer make I an eend: ye maye breath yee a while.

Munday. 10. Munday, the eyghteenth of this Iuly, the weather being hot, her highnes kept the Castl for coolness, till about fiue a klok her Maiesty in the Chase hunted the hart (az afore) of fors: that, whyther wear it by the cunning Psal. 24. of the huntsmen, or by the naturall desyre of the Deer, or els by both: anon he gat him too soyl² agayne, which reyzed the accustomed delight: a pastime indéede so intyrelly pleazaunt, az whearof at times whoo may haue the ful and frée fruition, can find no more sacie-tée (I ween) for a recreation, then of theyr good viaundes at timez for their sustentation.

Well, the game waz gotten: and her highnes returning, cam thear vpon a swimming Mermayd (that from top too tayl waz an eyghtéen foot long,) Triton, Neptunes blaster: Triton. whoo, with hiz trumpet foormed of a wrinkl d wealk, [tp. 41.] az her Maiesty† waz in sight, gaue soound very shrill & sonorooous, in sign he had an ambassy too pronooouns: anon her highnes waz cummen vpon the bridge, whearunto he made hiz fish to swim the swifter, and he then declared³: “how the supream salsipotent⁴ Monarch Neptune, the great

¹ Compare, in Russell's Book of Nurture, *Babees Book*, p. 163, the caution to the officers to look out that no dish of a course is stolen, l. 180; and the note there from *Household Ordinances*, p. 45, that Edw. IV's Surveyor is to see that 'of every messe that cummyth from the dressing houre . . . thereof he nothing withdrawn by the squires.'

² took to the water. Fr. *batre les eaux*, a Deere to take soyle.—*Cotgrave*.

³ See *Notes* at the end.

⁴ An epithet derived from the Latin *salsipotens*, which signifies one who has power over the salt seas; in which sense it is used by Plautus.—*Ainsworth*, in *Burn*.

God of the swelling seaz, Prins of profunditées, and Souerain Segnior of al Lakez, freshwaterz, Riuerz, Créekes, & Goolphs: vnderstanding how a cruel Knight, one syr Bruse sauns pitée¹, a mortall enmy vntoo Ladiez of estate, had long lyen about the banks of this pooll, in wayt with his bands heer to distress the Lady of *the lake*, whearby she hath béen restrayned not only from hauing any vse of her ancient liberty and territoriez in théez parts, but also of making repayr & giuing attendauns vnto yoo, nobl Quéén, (qd. he) az she woold, shee promist, and allso shoold: dooth thearfore signify: and héerto, of yoo, az of hiz good leag and déer fréend, make this request, that ye will deyn but too sheaw yoor parson toward this pool, whearby yoor only prezens shallbe matter sufficient of abandoning this vncurtess knight, and putting all his bands too flight, & also of deliuerauns [tp. 42.] of †the lady out of this thralldom." Moouing héerwith from the bridge, & fléeting more intoo the pool, chargeth he in Neptunes name: both Eolus with al his windez, the waters with hiz springs, hiz fysh & focol, and all his clients in the same, that they ne be so hardye in any fors too stur, but kéepe them calm & quiet while this Quéén be present. At which petition her highnes staying, it appeerd straight hoow syr Bruse became vnséen, his bands skaled², and the Lady by and by, with her too Nymphs, floting vpon her moouable Ilands (Triton on hiz mermaid skimming by,) approched toward her highnes on the bridge: az well too declare that her Maiestiez prezens hath so graciouslye thus wrought her deliuerauns, az allso to excuze her not comming to court az she promist, and chéeffly to present her Maiesty (az a token of her duty & good hart) for her highness recreation, with thiz gift, which was Arion³, that excellent & famouz Muzicien, in tyre & appointment straunge well séeming too hiz parson, ryding alofte vpon hiz oldd fréend the Dolphin, (that from hed to tayl waz a [tp. 43.] fouer & twenty foot long) & swymd hard by theez Ilands: †héerwith Arion, for theez great benefitez, after a feaw well cocouched words vntoo her Maiesty of thanksgyuing, in supplement of the same, béegan a de-

¹ See *Notes* at the end.

² skedaddled? '*Skale*, to scatter, in haymaking, is still used transitively in Cumberland.'—*E. H. Knowles*.

³ See the note on Goldingham from *Ken. Ill.* p. 25; and *Nichols*, i. 458, in *Notes* at the end.

lectabl ditty of a song¹ wel apted too a melodious noiz², compounded of six seuerall instruments al couuert, casting soound from *the Dolphin's* belly within; Arion, the seauenth, sitting thus singing (az I say) withoout.

Noow syr, the ditty in miter so aptly endighted to the matter, and after by voys so deliciously deliuerd: *the* song by a skilful artist intoo hiz parts so swéetly sorted: each part in hiz instrument so clean & sharpely tooched, euery instrument again in hiz kind so excellently tunabl: and this in the éeu[en]ing of the day, rescounding from the callm waters: whear prezens of her Maiesty, & longing too listen, had vtterly damped all noyz & dyn; the hole armony conueyd in tyme, tune, & temper, thus incomparably melodious: with what pleazure (Master Martin), with what sharpnes of conceyt, with what lyuely delighthe, this moought pears into the heerers harts, I pray ye imagin yoor self az ye may; for, so God iudge me, by all the wit & cunning I haue, I cannot ex-
[tp. 44.] press, I promis yoo. *Mais tieo bien vieu cela, Monsieur, que forte grande est la pouuoyr qu'auoit la tresnoble Science de Musique sur les esprites humains: perceiue ye me? I haue told ye a great matter noow. As for me, surely I was lulld in such liking, & so loth too leaue of, that mooch a doo, a good while after, had I, to fynde me whear I waz. And take ye this by the way, that for the smal skyl in muzik that God hath sent me, (ye kno it iz sumwhat,) ile set the more by my self while my name iz Laneham, and grace a God. A! muzik iz a nobl Art!*

A! stay a while! see a short wit: by my trooth I had almost forgot. This daye waz a day of grace beside, whearin wear auauanced fyue gentlemen of woorshippe vnto the de-
grée of knighthood: Sir Thomas Cecyl, sun & heyr vntoo the right honorabl the Lord Treazorer; Syr Henry Cobham, broother vnto the Lord Cobham; Syr Thomas Stanhop, Syr Arthur Basset, and Syr Thomas Tresham: and allso, by her highnes accustomed mercy & charitée, nyne cured of the peynfull and daungerous diseaz, called *the kings euill*; for that Kings & Quéenz of this Realm,
[tp. 45.] withoout oother medsin (saue only by †handling & prayerz), only doo cure it: bear with me, though perchauns I place not thoz Gentlmen in my recitall héer,

¹ In Gascoigne's account the song is given, but *Protheus* is the character instead of *Arion*, which is apparently an error.—*Nichols*, i. 458; *Ken. Ill.* p. 25, note 3. ² 'noiz' = noise—a company, or band, of musicians.—*W. C.*

after theyr estatez : for I am neyther good heraud of armez, nor yet kno hoow they are set in the Subsydy bookez. Men of great woorship I vnderstand they are all.

Tuisday, 11. Tuisday, according to commaundement, cam our Couentrée men : what their matter waz, of her highnes myrth and good acceptauns, and rewarde vntoo them, and of their reioysing thearat, I sheawd you afore, and so say the less noow.

Wedns. 12. Wednesday in the forenoon, preparacion was in hand for her Maiesty too haue supt in Wedgenall, a thrée myle west from the Castl. A goodly park of the Quéenz Maiestyez¹ : for that cauz, a fayr Pavilion, and other prouision accordingly thither sent & prepared : but by meanz of weather not so cléerly dispozed, *the* matter waz countermaunded again. That had her highnes hapned this daye too haue cummen abrode : there was made reddy a deuise of Goddessez & Nymphes² : which, az well for the ingenious argument, az for *the* wel handling of it in rime & endighting, [tp. 46.] woold vndoubtedly haue gaine great lyking, & mooued no less delight. Of *the* particularitéez, whearof, I ceas to entreat : least, like the boongling carpentar, by missorting the péecez, I mar a good frame in the bad setting vp, or by my fond tempring afore hand embleamish the beauty, when it should be reard vp in déede.

A this day also waz thear such earnest talkk & appointment of remoouing, that I gaue ouer my noting, and harkened after my hors.

Mary, syr, I must tell yoo : Az all endeuour waz too mooue mirth & pastime (az I tollde ye) : éuuen so a ridiculoous deuise of an auncient minstrell & hiz song waz prepared to haue been profferd, if méet time & place had béen foound for it. Ons in a woorshipfull company, whear, full appointed, he recoounted his matter in sort az it shoould haue been vttred, I chaunsed too be : what I noted, heer thus I tel yoo : A parson very méet séemed he for the purpoze, of a xlv.³ yéers olld, apparelled partly as he woold himself. Hiz

¹ The Duchess of Portland's copy reads "a goodly park of the right honourable my very good Lord the Earl of Warwick." It still belongs to that noble family, and is now called *Wedgnoek Park*.—*Nichols's Progresses*, 1788, vol. i. p. 29.

² See *Notes* at the end.

³ The Duchess of Portland's copy reads "xiv."—*Nichols*, ed. 1788, vol. i. p. 30.

cap of : his hed séemly rounded tonster wyze¹ : fayr kemb, that with a sponge deintly dipt in a littl capons greaz was [tp. 47.] finely smoothed too make †it shine like a Mallard's wing. Hiz beard smugly shauen : and yet hiz shyrt after the nu trink², with ruffs fayr starched, sléeked, and glistering like a payr of nu shoos : marshalld in good order : wyth a stetting stick, and stoout, that euery ruff stood vp like a wafer : a side gooun of kendall green, after the freshnes of the yéer noow, gathered at the neck with a narro gorget, fastened afore with a white clasp and a keeper close vp to the chin : but easily for heat too vndoo when he list : Séemly begyrt in a red caddiz³ gyrdl : from that a payr

¹ Fr. *tondre*, to sheere, clip, cut, powle, nott, pare round.—*Cotgrave*.

² ? trick, fashion.

³ *Caddis*, worsted, such as is now termed *cruell*, used for the ornament of the dresses of servants and the lower classes in the 16th century. *Caddis* garters are mentioned by writers of that era as worn by country folks.—*Fairholt's Costume in England*.—"This description of the minstrel's dress is particularly valuable, as it gives a highly-finished portrait of a class of men long since entirely extinct; and therefore, as many parts of the costume alluded to in the text are now unknown, it will form an interesting note to consider over and to explain them. The person mentioned is stated to have resembled "a Squire Minstrel of Middlesex;" and from this Dr. Percy supposes, that "there were other inferior orders, as yeomen minstrels, or the like." Philip Stubbes, in his "Anatomy of Abuses," 1595, gives a particular detail of the *Ruff*, which is the first part of the minstrel's dress mentioned in the text. From this it may be learned, that a *setting stick*, also alluded to, was an instrument made either of wood or bone for laying the plaits of the ruff in proper form. "*A side gown of Kendal green*," was a long hanging robe of coarse green woollen cloth or baize, for the manufacture of which the town of Kendal in Westmoreland was very anciently celebrated. From Stafford's tract already cited (p. 28), it would appear that this cloth was appropriated to servants; as he there says, "For I know when a Seruingman was content to go in a Kendal coate in Sommer, and a frise coate in winter; and with a plaine white hose made meete for his body; And with a piece of biefe, or some other dishe of sodden meate, all the weeke longe. Now he will looke to haue at the least for sommer, a coate of the finest cloth that may bee gotten for money, and his Hosen of the finest Kersey, and that of some straung die, as Flaunders die or French puke, that a Prince or great Lord can weare no finer if he weare cloth." (Fol. 33 b.) The mantle of Kendal-green, Laneham proceeds to state, was gathered at the neck with a *narrow gorget*, or collar. The gorget, which literally signifies a throat-piece, was originally a part of the female dress, and consisted of a long piece of cloth, or other stuff, wrapped several times about the neck, raised on either side the face, and secured in the front by long pins driven into the folds. The *white clasp and keeper* were probably formed of pewter, as the words "white metal" are often used in this sense in the writers of Laneham's period. A *red Caddis girdle* was one of those Spanish manufactures of which Stafford so much complains; they derived their name from being made at the city of Cadiz in Spain, out of the fells or untanned hides, which were sent from England to be formed into skins of Spanish leather. To this girdle hung, as usual, a pair of *Sheffield knives*, *capped*, or placed within a case; for as the use of forks was not known in England till about the year 1610, knives, for com-

of capped Sheffield kniue¹ hanging a to side: Out of hiz bozome drawne foorth a lappet of his napkin, edged with a blu lace, & marked with a truloone², a hart, and A. D. for Damian: for he was but a bachelor yet.

Hiz gooun had syde³ sleeuez dooun to midlegge, slit from the shooulder too the hand, & lined with white cotten. Hiz doobled sleeuez of blak woorsted, vpon them a⁴ payr of poynets⁵ of townty Chamblet⁶ laced a long the wreast wyth blu threedden points, a wealt toward the hand of fustian anapes:⁷ a payr of red neatherstocks: a pair of pumps on hiz fêet, with a cross cut at the toze for cornz: not nu in-
[tp. 48.] déede, yet cleanly †blakt with soot, & shining az a shoing horn.

About hiz nek a red rebond sutable too hiz girdl: hiz harp in good grace dependaunt before him: hiz wreast⁸ tyed to a gréen lace, and hanging by: vnder the gorget of hiz gooun a fair flagon cheyn, (pewter, for) siluer, az a squier minstrel of Middilsex⁹, that trauald the cuntrée this soommer season vnto fairz & worshipfull mens hoousez: from hiz chein hoong a Schoochion, with mettall & cooler resplendent vpon hiz breast, of the auncient armez of Islington: vpon a question whearof: he, az one that waz wel schoold,

mon purposes, were usually made in pairs. The word *napkin* is placed for handkerchief. The description of the minstrel's gown will easily be understood; and it is only requisite to remark upon it, that *fustian-a-napes* signifies Naples fustian, or what was sometimes called fustian bustian. *Nether stocks* were under stockings. The scutcheon about the minstrel's neck, alludes to an ancient custom for persons of that profession to wear the badge of that family by which they were retained; as the three belonging to the House of Percy wore each of them a silver crescent.

"Towards the end of the sixteenth century, this class of men had lost all their former credit, and were sunk so low in public estimation, that in 1597, 39th of Eliz. a statute was passed, by which minstrels, wandering abroad, were included with "rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars," and were directed to be punished as such. This act seems to have put an end to the profession."—*Burn*, p. 107-8; *Nichols*, i. 461.

¹ See *Notes* at the end.

² A true-lover's knot. *Truelove* is *Herb Paris*, a quatrefoil whose leaves bear a sort of likeness to a true-lover's knot.—See *Gloss.* to my *Wright's Chaste Wife*.

³ 1, wide; 2, long.

⁴ *Orig.* a a.

⁵ *Poynets*, Fr. wristbands.

⁶ *Camlet* a mixed stuff of wool and silk, used for gowns, temp. Elizabeth and James I., and mentioned by writers of that era. It was originally manufactured of the hair of the camel, and from thence its name is derived.—*Fairholt*.

⁷ *Fustian anapes* [= of Naples] is Naples fustian; sometimes called fustian bustian.—*Ken. Ill.* p. 101.

⁸ *wrest* = tuning hammer, to wrest or turn the tuning pins of the harp. See p. 41, 52.

⁹ *Orig.* Middilsex.

& could hiz lesson parfit without booke too aunsweare at full, if question wear askt hym, declared: hoow the woorschipfull village of Islington in Middelsex, well knooen too bee one of the most auncient and best toounz in England next London at thiz day: for the feythfull fréndship of long time sheawed, az well at Cookez feast in Aldersgate stréete yeerely vpon holly Rood day¹, az allso at all solem bridalez in the citie of London all the yéer after: in well seruing them of furmenty for porage², not ouersod till it be too weak: of mylk for theyr flawnez³, not pild nor chalked: [tp. 49.] of cream for their custardes, not †frothed nor thykned with flour: and of butter for theyr pastiez, and pyepast, not made of well curds, nor gathered of whey in soommer: nor mingled in winter with salt butter watered or washt, did obteyn long ago thez woorschipfull armez in cooler & foorm az yee sée: which are the armz, a field argent, as the field and ground indeed, whearin the milk-wiuez of thiz woorthy tooun, and euery man els in hys faculty doth trade for hiz liuing: on a Fess Tenny⁴ thrée platez betwéene thrée milke tankerds proper. The thrée milk tankerds, az the proper vessell whearin the substauns and matter of their trade iz too and fro transported. The Fess Tenny, which iz a cooler betokening dout & suspition⁵: so az suspition & good heed taking, az wel to their markets & seruants, az to their customers, that they trust not too farre: may bring vnto them platez, that iz, coynnd syluer: thrée, that iz, sufficient and plentie, for so that number in Armory may well signifie.

For Creast, vpon a wad of ote strawe for a wreath, a boll of furmenty: Wheat (az yee kno) iz the most precious gyft of Ceres, and in the midst of it, sticking, a doozen The horn spoonz.⁶ of hornspoonz in a bunch, az the instrumentst† [tp. 50.] meetest too eate furmenty porage wythall: a doozen, az a number of plenty compleat for full cheere or a banket, and of horn, az of a substauns more es-

¹ 14 Sept., the boys' nutting-day.—Ellis's *Brand*, i. 194-5.

² furmity: 'þe frumenty potage.'—*Babees Book*, p. 141, l. 391, etc.; *Percy MS. Loose Songs*, p. 61, 64-5.

³ Fr. *flans*: m. Flawns, Custards, Egge-Pies.—*Cotgrave*. A Cheese-cake or Flawne.—*Hexham*; see *Babees Book Index*.

⁴ An orange-coloured band, horizontally crossing the middle of the shield, of which it takes up the third part.—*Cussans*.

⁵ Orange or yellow is the colour of doubt.

⁶ 'spnooz' in the Brit. Mus. copy; but *spoonz* in the St. John's copy.

timabl then iz made for a great deel : béeing nether so churlish in weight az iz mettall : nor so froward and brittl to manure az stone, nor yet so soily in vse, nor roough to the lips, az wood iz : but lyght, plyaunt, and smooth, that with a littl licking wooll allweiz be kept az clen az a dy. "With yoor paciens, Gentlmen," (quoth the minstrel) "be it said : wear it not in deede that hornz bee so plentie, hornware I beleeue woold bee more set by than it iz, and yet are thear in our parts, that wyll not stick too auow that many an honest man both in citée and cuntrée hath had hiz hoous by horn-ing well vphollden¹, and a daily fréend allso at néed. And thiz (with your fauour) may I further affirm : a very ingenious parson waz hée, that for dignitée of the stuff, coold thus by spooning, deuise to aduauns the horn so neer too the hed.

"With great congruens also wear théez hornsponnz put too the wheat : az a token and porcion of Cornucopiæ, the horn of Achelous, which the Naiades² did fil with fall good frutez, corn & grain : & after did consecrate vnto abooundauns and plenty.

Ouid. met.
lib. 9.
[tp. 51.]

"This skoochion, with beastz very aptly agréeing both to the armz and to the trade of the bearerz, gloriously supported. Betwéen a gray Mare (a beast meetest for carying of mylktankards,) her pannell on her bak, az always reddy for seruis at euey feast and brydale at neede, her tail splayd at most eaz : and her filly fole³, fallo, and a flaxen mane after the syre.

"In the skro vndergrauen," (quoth hee) "thiz ear a proper woord, an hemistichi, well squaring with al the rest, taken out of Salerns chapter of things that most noorish man's body : *Lac, Caseus infans*. That iz, good milke and yong chéez. And thus mooch, Gintlmen, and pleaz you (quoth he) for the armz of oour woorshipfull tooun." And thearwithal made a manerly leg, and so held his peas.

Az the company pawzde, and the minstrell séemde to gape after a praiz for hiz *Beauparlar* : and bicauz he had rendered hiz lesson so well : Saiz a good fello of the company, "I am sory to see hoow mooch the poore minstrell mistakez the matter : for indeede the armez are thus.

¹ See the Ballad of "Cuckold's Haven, or The Married Man's Miserie, who must abide the penalte of being hornify'd" in the Ballad Soc.'s *Roxb. Ballads*, i. 148.

² Qu. Maiades?—*Nichols*, i. 464.

³ fallow (-coloured) she-foal : foal is a horse-colt; filly a mare-colt.

[tp. 52.] “†Thrée milk tankerds proper, in a fielde of cloouted cream; thrée gréen cheésez vpon a shealf of cakebread. The fyrmenty boll and hornspoonz: cauz their profit coms all by horned beastz. Supported by a Mare with a gald back, & thearfore still couerd with a panniell, fisking with her tail for flyez, and her filly fole neying after the dam for suk. This woord *Lac*, *Caseus infans*. That is, a fresh cheez and cream, & the common cry that theez milk-wiuez make in London stréetes yéerly, betwixt Easter and Whitsontide: and this iz the very matter; I kno it well enough:” and so ended hiz tale, and sate him dooun again.

Héerat euery man laught a good, saue the minstrell: that, though the fooll wear made priuy, all waz but for sport, yet too see him self thus crost with a contrary ku that hee lookt not for, woold straight haue geen¹ ouer all, waxt very wayward, eager², and scour: hoow be it, last, by sum entreaty & and many fayr woords, with sak & suger, we sweetned him againe, and after becam az mery az a py. Appeerez then a fresh, in hiz ful formalitée, with a louely loock: after thrée loly couoursiez³, cleered his vois with a hem and a reach, and spat out withal, wiped† hiz lips with the hollo of his hand, for⁴ fyling hiz napkin, temperd a string or too with his wreast: and after a littl warbling on hiz harp for a prelude, came foorth with a scellem song, war-raunted for story out of King Arthurz acts, the first booke and 26. chapter⁵, whearof I gate a copy, and that iz this.

King Ar-
thurs book.

SO it befell vpon a Penticost day,
 When King Arthur at Camelot kept court rial,
 With hiz cumly Quéen, dame Gaynoour the gay,
 And many bolld Barrons sitting in hall,
 Ladies apparaild in purpl and pall,
 When herauds in hukes⁶ herried full by⁷,
 “Largess! Largess! cheualiers treshardy!”

¶ A doouty Dwarf too the vppermost deas
 Right peartly gan prik, and, knéeling on knee,
 With steeuens⁸ full stoout amids all the preas,

¹ given.

² Fr. *aigre*.

³ lowly curtsies.

⁴ to prevent. Compare, on the saving of the napkin, the *muffler* above, p. 24.

⁵ See *Notes* at the end.

⁶ See *Notes* at the end.

⁷ *Ken. III.* reads *hy* (high) and translates *herried*, cried, (Fr. *hurier*).

⁸ voice. A. Sax. *stefn*.

Said "hail, syr king! God thee saue and see!
King Ryens of Northgalez gréeteth well thee,
And bids that thy beard anon thou him send,
Or els from thy iawz he will it of rend.

"¶ For his robe of state, a rich skarlet mantell,
With a-leauen kings beards bordred about,
Hee hath made late, and yet in a cantell¹
Iz leaft a place, the twelth to make out: [p. 54.]
Wear thin must stand, bee thou neuer so stout:
This must bee doon, I tell thee no fabl,
Mawgre the pour of all thy round tabl."

¶ When thiz mortall message from hiz moouth waz past,
Great waz the brute in hall and in boour:
The King fumed, *the* quéen shrieked, ladies wear agast,
Princes puft, Bar[o]nz blustered, Lordz began too louur,
Knights stamp, squirez startld, az stéedz in a stour²,
Yeemen and pagez yeald³ out in the hall:
Thearwith cam in Syr Kay of Seneshall.

"¶ Sylens, my suffrainz," quoth the courteyz Knight,
And in that stound the chearm becam still,
The Dwarfs dynner full deerly waz dight,
For wine and wastell⁴ hée had at hiz will:
And when hee had eaten and fed hiz fill,
One hundred peeces of coyned gould
Wear giuen the Dwarfe for hiz message bolld.

"¶ Say too Syr Ryens, thou Dwarf," quoth the King,
"That for his proud message I him defy,
And shortly with basinz and panz will him ring
Out of Northgalez, whearaz hée and I
With sweards (and no razerz) shall vtterly try
Which of vs both iz the better Barber:"
And thearwith he shook hiz sword Excalaber.

[†p. 56⁵.] †At this, the minstrell made a pauz & a curtezy,
for *Primus passus*⁶. More of the song iz thear, but

¹ A piece, or part. Shakspeare uses the word in King Henry IV. part I. act 3, scene 1.

"And cuts me, from the best of all my land,
A huge half-moon, a monstrous *cantle* out.—*Burn*, p. 10.

² battle.—*Burn*. ³ yelled. ⁴ *Wastel*, fine bread.

⁵ In the numbering of the pages in the original, 55 is skipped.

⁶ First fitt, 1st canto. *Passus* is the name for the divisions in *Piers Plowman*.

I gat it not. Az for the matter, had it cum to the sheaw, I think the fello would haue handled it well ynough.

Her highnes tarried at Kyllingwoorth tyll the Wednesday after, being the 27 of this Iuly, and the nintéenth (inclusive) of her Maiestiez cumming thither¹.

For which seuen daiz, perceyuing my notez so slenderly aunswering: I tooke it less blame too ceas, & thearof too write yoo nothing at al, then in such matterz to write nothing likely. And so mooch the rather (az I haue well be-thought me) that if I dyd but ruminare the dayz I haue spoken of, I shall bring out yet sumwhat more, méet for yoor appetite, (though a deinty tooth haue ye,) which I beleue yoor tender stomak will brook wel inough.

Whearof part iz: fyrst hoow according to her highnes name ELIZABETH, which I heer say out of the
 The Hebru signifieth (amoong oother) the *Seauenth of*
 seauenz. *my God*: diuerz things heer did soo iustly in number square with the same. Az fyrst, her highnes hither cumming in this seauenth †moonth: then, presented with the
 [tp. 57.] seauen prezents of the seauen Gods: and after, with the melody of the seauen sorted muzik in the dollphin, the Lakeladies gyft.

Then, too, consider how fully the Gods (az it séemed) had conspyred most magnificently in aboundauns too bestow theyr influencez & gyfts vpon her couert, thear too make her Maiesty merry.

Sage Saturn himself in parson (that bycauz of
 Saturn and his lame leg could not so well stur) in chayr thear-
 Pallas. fore too take order with the graue officerz of hooushold, holpen in deed with the good aduise of his prudent Nees Pallas: That no vnruely body or disquiet disturb the nobl assemblée, or els be ons so bold too enter within the Castl gatez. Away with al rascallz, captiuez, melancholik, waiward, froward, Coniurerz, and Vsurers! and to haue laborers and vnderworkmen for *the* beautifying of ony place, alway at hand, az they shoold be commaunded.

Iupiter. Sent parsonagez of hy honor & dignité: Barons, Lords, Ladies, Iuges, Bishops, Lawyerz, Doctors: with them, vertu, noblness, equitée, libéralitée & compassion†: due season, & fayr weather:
 [tp. 58.] sauing that, at the petition of hiz déer sister Ceres,

¹ See *Notes* at the end.

he graunted a day or too of sum swéet shoourz for rypening of her corn that waz so well set, & too set forward haruest: Heerwith, bestoed he such plenty of pleazaunt thunder, lightning, & thunderbolts, by hiz halting sun & fyer-master, Vulcan, stil fresh & fresh framed, alweyz so frequent, so intellabl, & of such continuauns in the spending (az I partly tolld ye) consumed, that surely he séemz too be, az of pour inestimabl, so, in store of municion, vnwastabl, For all Ouid's censure, that saiz:

*Si quoties peccant homines, sua fulmina mittat
Iupiter: exiguo tempore inermis erit.*

If Ioue shoold shoot hiz thunderbolts az oft as men offend, Assure yoo hiz artillery wold soon be at an end.

What a number of estatez & of nobilitéé had Iupiter assembled thear, gess yée by this: that of sort woorshipfull thear wear in the court dayly aboone fourty, whearof the meynest, of a thoouzand mark yéerly reuennu, and many of mooch more. This great gyft byside did hiz deitée cast vpon her highnes, too haue fayr & seasonabl weather at her ooun appointment: ||According whearvnto, her Maiestye so had. For her gracious prezens thearfore with this great gift indewed, Lichféeld, Worceter, and Middelton¹, with manye placez mo, made humbl sute vntoo her highnes too cum: too such whearof as her Maiesty coold, it cam: and they season acceptabl.

Phœbus. Biside his continuall & most delicious muzik (az I haue toold yoo), appointed he Princes too adourn her highnes court, Coounselers, Herauds, and sanguine yooth, pleazaunt & mery, costlye garments, learned Phizicianz, & no néede of them.

Iuno. Golld cheynez, Ouchez, Iewels of gret price, & rich attyre, woorn in mooch grace & good beséeming, without pryde, or emulation of ony.

Mars. Captainz of good conduct, Men skylfull in feats of armz, pollitik in stratagemz, Good coorage in good quarelz, valiant, & wizehardy: Abandoning pikquarrels & ruffianz: appoynting also Pursyuants, currarz² & posts, still féeding her highnes with nuze & intelligencez from all parts.

Venus. Vntoo the Ladyez & Gentl-šwemen, beauty, good faouour, cumlinesse, galant attyre,

¹ See *Notes* at the end.

² couriers.

dauncing with cumly grace, swéet vois in song, & pleazaunt talk: with express commaundment & charge vntoo her sunn¹, on her blessing, that he shoote not a shaft in the Court all the while her highnes remayned at Killingwoorth.

Mercuri. Mercuri. Learned men in Sciencez, Poets, Merchants, Painterz, Karuerz, Players, Engyners, Deuyserz, & dexteritée in handling of all pleazaunt attempts.

Luna. Callm nights for quiet rest, and syluer moonshine, that nightly in-déede shone for most of her Maiestyez béeing thear.

Plutus. Blinde Plutus. Bags of moony, Custumerz², Exchaungers, Bankers, Store of riches in plate and in coyn.

Bacchus. Bacchus. Full Cups euery whear, euery our, of al kynds of wyne.

Neptune. Thear waz no deintée that the sea coold yéeld, but Neptune (though hiz reign at the néerest ly well ny a hundred mile of) did dayly send in great plenty, swéet and freash. As for freashwater fish, the store of all sorts waz abundaunt.

Ceres. And hoow bountiful Ceres in prouizion waz, gess ye by this: that in lyttl more then *a thrée dayz space, 72. tunn of Ale & Béer waz pyept³ yp quite, what that mighte, whilst with it of bread, beside meat, I report me to yoo. And yet, master Controller, master Coferar, and diuerz officers of the Court, sum honorabl, and sundrye right woorshipfull, placed at Warwik for more rooom in the Castl. But heer was no ho⁴, Master Martin, in deuoot drinking allwey: that broughte a lak⁵ vnlookt for; whiche being knoen too the Woorshipfull my Lord's good neighboourz, cam thear in a too dayz space, from sundry friendz, a reléef of a xl. tunn, till a nu supply was gotten agayn: and then too our drinking a freshe, az fast az euer we did.

Flora. Abrode & within the hoos ministred of flourz so great a quantitée: of such swéet sauour, so beautiffully hued, so large and fayr of proporcion, and of so straunge kindez & shapez, that it waz great pleasure too

¹ Cupid.

² ? not buyers, but collectors of the customary dues of manors, and of customs. See Master Smith, *Customer*, p. 61.

³ piped, sucked, swallowed.

⁴ halt, stop.

⁵ *Orig.* a-lak.

sée: & so mooch the more, az thear waz great store yet counterfet & foormed of featherz by art, lyke glorioous too the sheaw az wear the naturall.

Protheus. Protheus. Hiz Tumbler that coold by nimbleness cast himself intoo so many† foorms & facionz.

[tp. 62.] Pan. Hiz mery morrys dauns, with their pype & taber.

Bellona. Bellona. Her quintine knights, & proper bickerings of the Couentrée men.

Polyphemus. Polyphemus. Neptunee sun & heyr (let him, I pray, & it be but for hiz father's sake and for his good wyll, he allowed for a God,) with hiz bearz, hiz bearwhealps, and bandogs.

Aeolus. Æolus. Holding vp hiz windez while her highnes at any tyme took pleazure on the water, and staying of tempests during [her] abode héer.

Syluanus. Syluanus. Beside hiz plentifull prouizion of focol for deynty viaunds, his pleazaunt and swéet singing byrds: whearof I will sheaw yoo more anon.

Echo. Echo. Her wel endighted dialog.

Faunus. Faunus. Hiz ioly Sauage.

Genius. Genius loci. Hiz tempring of al things within & without, with apt tyme & place too pleazure & delight.

Charites. Then the thrée Charites: Aglaia, with her lightsum gladnes. Thalia, her flourishng freshnes.

Euphrosyne, her cheerfullnes of spirite; and with theez three in one assent, Concordia: with †her amitée and [tp. 63.] good agrément. That too hoow great effects their poourz wear poured out heer among vs, let it bée iudged by this: that by a multytude thus met, of a thrée or foor thoouzand, every day, and diuerz dayz more, of so sundry degrés, professions, agez, appetytz, dispozicions, & affections: such a drifte of tyme was thear passed, with such amitée, locue, pastime, agrément, and obediens whear it shoold: and without quarrel, iarring, grudging, or (that I coold heer) of yll woord betwéen any. A thing, master Martin, very rare & straunge; and yet no more straunge then tru.

parcæ. The Parcæ (as earst I shoold haue sayd) the first night of her Maiestiez cumming: they—héering & séeing so precioous ado héer at a place vnlookt for, in an vplondish cuntrée so far within the Ream,—preassing intoo euery stéed whear her highnes went, whearby so

duddld¹ with such varietee of delyghts, did set aside their huswifrye, coold not for their harts tend their work a whyt. But after they had séen her Maiesty a bed, gat them a prying into euery place; old hags, az fond of nuellries², az yoong girls that had neuer séen Court afore*: but neyther [*p. 64.] full with gazing, nor wery with gadding, leaft of yet for that time; and at high midnight, gate them gigling, (but not alooud,) into the prezens Chamber: minding indéed with their prezent diligens, too recompens their former slaknes.

So, setting themseluez thus dooun too their woork: "alas!" sayz Atropos, "I haue lost my shéerz:" Lachesis laught apace, and woold not draw a thréed: "And thinke ye, damez, that ile hoold the distaff whyle both ye sit idle? why, no! by my mootherz soll!" *quod* Clotho. Thearwith, fayr lapt in a fine lawn the spindel and rok³, that waz dizend with pure purpl sylk, layd they safely vp toogether: that of hir Maiestyez distaff, for an eightéen dayz, thear waz not a thréed spoon, I assure you.

The two systers after that, (I hard say,) began their woork again: *that* long may they continu; but Atropos hard no tydings of her sheers; and not a man that moned her loss. She iz not beloued surely; for this I can tell yoo: that whither it bee for hate too the hag, or looue to her highnes, or els for both, euery man prayz God she may neuer find [†p. 64.] them for that woork, and so pray I †dayly and duly with the deuocoutest.

Thus partly ye perceyue noow, hoow greatly the Gods can do for mortals, and hoow mooch alwey they looue whear they like, that what a gentl loue waz thys, thus curteosly too contrine heer such a treyn of Gods! Nay then rather, master Martin, (to cum oout of oour poeticalitéez, & too talk no more serioous tearms), what a magnificent lord may we iustly account him, that cold so highli cast order for such a Iupiter, & all hiz Gods besid, that none with hiz influens, good property, or prezent, wear wanting: but aalweis redy at hand, in such order and aboundans, for the honoring and delight of so high a Prins, oour most gracious Quéén & souerain. A prins (I say,) so singuler in preeminens & worthines abooue al other Princes and dignitéez of oour

¹ muddled, confused. Cp. *doddle* to totter; *doddy-pate*, *doddypoll*, a numskull, fool, in my *Ballads from MSS*, vol. i.

² noveltries, novelties, new things.

³ See *Notes* at the end.

time: though I make no comparizon too yeeرز past, to him that in thiz point, either of ignorauns (if any such can be) or els of maleuolens, woold make any doout: ‘*Sit liber iudex*’ (az they say) let him look on the matter, and aunswer himself: he haz not far too trauell.

Az for the Amplitude of his Lordship’s mynde: all bee it that I, poor soll, can in §conceit no more attain vntoo, [§p. 66.] then iudge of a gem, whearof I haue no skill, ye, though daily worn & respesdant in myne ey: yet sum of the vertuze and proprietiez thearof, in quantitée or qualitée so apparaunt az cannot be hidden, but séene of all men, moought I be the boolder too reaport her vnto yoo: but as for the valu, yoor iewellers by their Carrets let them cast, and they can.

And fyrst: who that considerz vntoo the stately seat of Kenelwoorth Castl, the rare beauty of bilding that his honor hath auanced¹: all of the hard quarry stone: euery room so spacioous, so well belighted, and so hy roofed within: So seemely too sight by du proportion without: a day time on euerye side so glittering by glasse, a nights by continuall brightnesse of candell, fyre, & torchlight, transparent through the lyghtsom wyndz, az it wear the Egiptian Pharos reluent vntoo all the Alexandrian coast; or els (too tallke merily with my mery freend) thus radiaunt, as though Phœbus for hiz eaz woold rest him in the Castl, and not euery night so to trauell dooun vnto the Antipodes. Heertoo, [*p. 67.] so fully furnisht of rich apparell, & vtensilez *apted in all pointes to the best.

Vntoo thiz, hiz honorz exquisit appointment of a beautifull garden², an aker or more of quantitee, that lyeth on the north thear. Whearin, hard all along the Castl wall, iz reared a pleazaunt Terres of a ten

¹ See *Notes* at the end.

² It would appear from the “*Secret Memoirs of the Earl of Leicester*,” that the magnificent gardens and spacious parks at Kenilworth were not completed without some oppression on the part of their possessor, as the unknown author of the above work thus speaks concerning them:—“The like proceedings he used with the tenants about Killingworth, where he received the said Lordship and Castle from the Prince, in gift, of 24*l.* yearly rent, or thereabouts, hath made it hetter than 500*l.* by year, by an old record also found, by great good fortune, in a hole of the wall, as it is given out (for he hath singular good luck always in finding out records for his purpose;) by virtue whereof he hath taken from his tenants round about, their lands, woods, pastures, and commons, to make himself parks, chases, and other commodities therewith, to the subversion of many a good family which was maintained there before this

foot hy & a twelue brode, éeuen vnder foot, & fresh of fyne grass: az iz also the side thearof toward the gardein, in whiche by sundry equall distauncez, with obelisks, sphearz, and white bearz¹, all of stone, vpon their curioouz basez, by goodly shew wear set: too theez, too fine arberr redolent by swéet trées and flourz, at ech end one, the garden plot

devourer set foot in that country." At a subsequent part of the same volume is mentioned Lord Leicester's "intolerable tyranny" upon the lands of one Lane, "who offered to take Killingworth Castle." A royal favourite, however, and a successful minister, was never yet without enemies, and it is certain that Lord Leicester was not; the whole of the volume out of which these extracts have been made, is filled with charges of the most dreadful crimes with which human nature can be stained; yet even these are related with such levity, such seeming familiarity with vice, that the reader is tempted to believe that a great proportion of it was fabricated by malice, and that the author was even worse than the character he describes. But to return:—The garden mentioned in the text will doubtless remind some readers of those splendid pleasure-grounds which belonged to Lord Burleigh, at Theobalds in Hertfordshire, and Sir Walter Raleigh's at Shirburne Castle in Dorsetshire. Of the former, Peck, in his "Desiderata Curiosa," says, "He also greatly delighted in making gardens, fountains, and walks, which at Theobalds were perfected most costly, beautifully, and pleasantly. Where one might walk two miles in the walks before he came to their ends." Sir Paul Hentzner, in his "Journey into England," when speaking of the same place, describes it more particularly. "From this place" [i. e. the gallery,] "one goes into the garden, encompassed with a ditch full of water, large enough for one to have the pleasure of going in a boat, and rowing between the shrubs; here are great variety of trees and plants; labyrinths made with a great deal of labour; a *jet d'eau*, with its bason of white marble; and columns and pyramids of wood and other materials up and down the garden: After seeing these, we were led by the gardener into the summer-house, in the lower part of which, built semicircularly, are the twelve Roman Emperors, in white marble, and a table of touchstone; the upper part of it is set round with cisterns of lead, into which water is conveyed through pipes, so that fish may be kept in them, and in summer time they are very convenient for bathing; in another room for entertainment, very near this, and joined to it by a little bridge, is an oval table of red marble." Concerning the pleasure-grounds at Shirburne, in Peck's work before cited, there is only a notice that Sir Walter Raleigh had drawn the river through the rocks into his garden; but Coker states, that he built in the park adjoining to the Castle, "from the ground, a most fine house, which he beautified with orchards, gardens, and groves, of such variety and delight, that whether you consider the goodness of the soil, the pleasantness of the seat, and other delicacies belonging to it, it is unparalleled by any in these parts." The above extracts will be an amusing counterpart to Laneham's elaborate description of Lord Leicester's gardens.—*Burn*, p. 110–112; *Nichols*, i. 472.

¹ "These effigies were allusive to the ancient badge of the Earls of Warwick, which was, a bear erect Argent, muzzled Gules, supporting a ragged staff of the first; the ragged staffs were introduced in another part of the garden, *vide ante*, page 75. Lord Leicester's connexion with the Earls of Warwick was through the houses of Lisle and Beauchamp, brought into the family of Dudley by his mother, Elizabeth Talbot. In 1561, Ambrose Dudley, Robert's elder brother, was made Earl of Warwick, and consequently the badge was thus introduced."—*Burn*, p. 112; *Nichols*, i. 473.

under that, with fayr alleyz gréen by grass, éeuen voided from the borderz a both sydez, and sum (for chaunge) with sand, not light or to soft, or soilly by dust, but smooth and fyrme, pleasaunt too walk on az a sea shore when the water iz auaild¹: then, much gracified by du proporcion of four éeuen quarterz: in *the* midst of each, vpon a base a too foot square, & hy, séemly borderd of it self, a square pilaster rizing pyramidally, of a fyftéen foote hy: Simmetrically péerced through, from a foot beneath, vntill a too foot [tp. 68.] of the top: whear vpon, for a Capitell, an Orb of a ten† inches thik: euery of théez (with hiz base) from the ground too the top of one hole pées, heauen out of hard Porphiry, and with great art & héed (thinks me) thyther conueyd, & thear erected.

Whear further allso, by great cast & cost, the swéetnes of sauour on all sidez, made so respiraunt² from the redolent³ plants and fragrant earbs and flourz, in foorm, cooller and quantitée, so deliciously variant: and frute Trées bedecked with their Applz, Peares, and ripe Cherryez.

The Cage. And vnto theez, in the midst, agaynst *the* Terres: a square cage, sumptuous and beautifull, ioyned hard to the Northwall (that a that side gards the gardein, as the gardein the Castl), of a rare form and excellency was reyzed: in heyth a twentye foot, thyrtty long, and a four-téen brode. From the ground strong & close, reared breast hy, whearat a soyl of a fayr moulding was couched all about: From that vpward, foour great wyndoz a froont, and too at each éénd, euery one a fyue foot wide, az many mo éeuen abooue them, diuided on all parts by a transum⁴ and Architraue⁵ so likewise raunging about *the* Cage. Each windo arched in the top, and §parted from oother in eeuen [§p. 69.] distauns by flat fayr bolteld⁶ columns, all in foorm & beauty like, that supported a cumly Cornish,

¹ aualed, lowered, gone down, ebbd. Fr. *à val*.

² Fit for breathing, refreshing; Lat. *respira-*, revive, be refreshed.

³ Lat. *redolent-*, emitting a scent, diffusing an odour.

⁴ *Transom*, an overthwart Beam or Brow-Post: *Kersey's Phillips*; the piece of Timber which is fram'd across in a double light Window: *Blount*.

⁵ *Architrave*, the main Beam in any Building, and the first Member of the Entablature, *i. e.* that part of a Stone-Pillar which is above the Capital and below the Frize: In Timber-Buildings, it is called the *Reason-piece* or *Master-Beam*; in Chimneys, the *Mantle-piece*; and over the Jambs of Doors or Lintels of Windows, 'tis termed *Hyperthyron*.—*Kersey's Phillips*.

⁶ *Boltel* is a term used in building, to signify any prominence or jetting-out beyond the flat face of the wall.—*Burn*, p. 112; *Nichols*, i. 474.

couched al along vpon the hole¹ square. Which, with a wire net, finely knit, of mashez sixe square, an inch wyde (az it wear for a flat roof) and likewise the space of euery windo, with great cunning and cumlines, éeuen and tight, waz al ouerstrained. Vnder the Cornish again, euery part beautified with great Diamonds, Emerauds, Rubyes, and Saphyres : poynted, tabld, rok, and roound², garnisht with their golld by skilfull hed and hand, and by toile and pensill so lyuely exprest, az it mought bee great marueil and pleasure to consider how neer excellency of art could approach vntoo perfection of nature.

Bear with me, good cuntréeman, though thinges bee not sheawed heer az well az I woold, or az well as they shoold. For indéed I can better imagin & conceyue that I see, then wel vtter, or duly declare it. Holecz wear thear also, and cauerns, in orderly distauns & facion, voyded intoo the wall, az wel for heat, for coolnes, for roost a nightz, & refuge in weather, az allso for breeding, when time iz. More, fayr, [fp. 70.] eeuen, and fresh tholly treez, for pearching and prouing³, set within, tooward each eend one. Heereto their diuersitée of meats, theyr fine seueral vessels for their water, and sundry grainz, And a man skilful and diligent to looke too them and tend them.

But (shall I tell yoo) the siluer soounded Lute, without the swéet touch of hand : the glorious gooldden cup, without the fresh fragrant wine ; or the rich ring with gem, without the fayr feawtered⁴ fynger, iz nothing indéede in hiz proper grace & vse : Euen so his Honor accounted of thiz mansion, till he had plast thear tenauntes according : Had it thearfore replenishte with liuely Burds, English, French, Spanish, Canarian, and (I am deceaued if I saw not

¹ *Orig. bole.*

² It is evident that these precious stones were imitated in painting ; and that they were meant to represent the gems in their various appearances. *Pointed*, or rose, as it is termed by the lapidaries, is when a stone is cut with many angles rising from an octagon, and terminating in a point. *Tabled* is when a diamond is formed with one flat upper surface ; and the word *table* also signifies the principal face. *Rough* is understood to mean the gem in its primary state, when its radiance is seen to sparkle through the dross of the mine. *Round* denotes the jewel when it is cut and polished with a convex surface. The expression, "Garnisht with their golld," which follows in the text, signifies ornamented with their settings.—*Burn*, p. 112-13 ; *Nichols*, i. 474.—See, also, *Kenilworth Illustrated*, p. 102, where the writer says, that "rough" is the modern term for Laneham's "rok."

³ *preening* : for birds to trim and clean their feathers on.

⁴ ? *featured*, shaped, or *feutred*, poised.

sum) African. Whearby, whither it becam more delight-
sum in chaunge of tuncz and armony too the eare: or els in
differens of coolerz, kyndez, & propertyez too the ey, Ile tell
yoo if I can when I haue better bethought me.

The Gar- One day (Master Martin) az the Gardin-door
diner. waz open, & her highnes a hunting, by licens of my
good fréend Adrian I cam in at a bek, but woold
skant out with a thrust: for sure I waz loth so soon to depart.

[§p. 71.] § Well may this (Master Martyn) bee sumwhat
too magnitude of mynde: but more thearof az ye
shall kno, more cauz ye shall haue so too think: heer out
what. I tel yoo, and tell me when we méet.

The Foun- In the center (az it wear) of this goodly Gar-
tain. dein, was theer placed a very fayre Focountain,
cast intoo an eight square, reared a four foot hy,
from the midst whearof a Colum vp set in the shape of too
Athlants ioined together a backhalf, the toon looking East,
toother West, with theyr hands vphollding a fayr formed
boll, of a thrée foot ouer: from wheans sundrye fine pipez
did liuely distill continuall streamz intoo the receyt¹ of the
Focountayn, maynteyned styll too foot déep by the same
fresh falling water: whearin pleazauntly playing too & fro,
& round about, Carp, Tench, Bream, and for varietée, Pearch
& Eel, fysh fayrliking all, and large; in the toppe, the ragged
staffe², which, with the boll, the pillar, and eyght sides
beneath, wear all heauen out of rich & hard white Marbl.
A one syde, Neptune with his Trident³ Fuskin³ triumphing
in hiz Throne, trayled into the déep by his marine horsez.
On another, Thetis in her chariot drawn *by her Dollphins.

[*p. 72.] Then, Triton by hiz fyshez. Héer, Protheus heard-
ing hiz sea buls. Thear, Doris & her dooughterz
solacyng a sea & sandz. The wauetz scourging with froth
& fome, entermengled in place with whalez, whirlpoolz⁴,
sturgeoonz, Tunneyz, Conchs, & wealks: all engrauen by ex-
quisit deuize and skill, so az I maye thinke this not much
inferiour vnto Phoebus gategz, which (Ouid sayz), & perad-
uentur a pattern to thiz, that Vulcan himself dyd cut: whear-
of such was the excellency of art, that the woork in valu sur-
mounted the stuff; and yet wer the gategz all of clean massy
syluer.

¹ pool, basin.

² See note 2 above, p. 9.

³ Lat. *fuscina*, a three-pronged spear, a trident.

⁴ Fr. *Horepole*: *f.*, A whirlpoole (fish).—*Cotgrave*.

Héer wear thinges, ye see, moought enflame ony mynde too long after looking : but whoo so was found so hot in desyre, with the wreast¹ of a Cok was sure of a coolar : water spurt- ing vpward with such vehemency, az they shoold by & by be moystned from top too to : The hées to sum laughing, but the shées to more sport.

This sumtime waz occupied to very good pastime².

A Garden then so appoynted, az whearin aloft vpon swéet shadoed wallk of Terres, in heat of Soomer, too féel [tp. 73.] the pleazaunt† whysking winde abooue, or delectabl coolnes of the focuntain spring beneath : Too tast of delicious strawberiez, cheryez, & oother frutez, éeuén from their stalks : Too smell such fragraney of swéet odourz breathing from the plants, earbs, & flourz : Too heer such naturall melodioous musik, and tunez of burds : To haue in ey, for myrth, sumtime theez vndersprynging streamz ; then, the woods, the waters (for both pool & chase wer hard at hand in sight), the deer, the peepl (that cout of the East arber in the base court, allso at hande in view), the frute trées, the plants, the earbs, the flourz, the change in coolers, the Burds flyttering, the Fooontaine streaming, the Fysh swymming : all in such delectabl varietée, order, dig- Paradisus. nitée : whearby at one moment, in one place, at Græc. hande, without trauell, too haue so full fruition of Hortus so many Gods blessinges, by entyer delight vnto amoeniss. al sencez (if al can take) at ones : for Etymon of Aut Hebræ. the woord woorthy to bée calld Paradyz³ : and Pardes, id est, Hortus. though not so goodly az Paradis, for want of the fayr Riuers, yet better a great deel by the lak of so vnhappy a trée. Argument most certein of a right nobl minde, that in this scort coold §haue thus all contriued.

[§p. 74.] But, Master Martin, yet one wyndlesse⁴ must I The num- featch, too make ye one more fayr coorz, and I can : ber 1. and canz I speak of one : let me tel yoo a littl of the dignitée of onehod, whearin allweyz al hy Deitee, al Soue- raintee, Préeminens, Principalitée, and Concord without pos-

¹ twist, turn.

² This sentence is wanting in the Dutchess of Portland's copy.—*Nichols*, ed. 1788, i. 46.

³ Laneham, in making use of this expression, gave to Lord Leicester's gardens a name which it was customary to apply to pleasure-grounds and houses in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as in the instances of Wressell and Leginfield, in the East Riding of Yorkshire.—*Burn*, p. 113 *Nichols*, i. 477.

⁴ See *Notes* at the end.

sibilité of disagreement, iz conteyned. Az one God, one Sauiour, one Feith, one Prins, one Sun, one Phenix; and, az one of great wisdom sayz, one hart, one wey¹. Whear onehod reinz, ther quiet bears rule, & discord fliez a pase. Thrée again may signify cumpany, a méeting, a multitude, pluralité: so az all talez and numbrings from too vntoo thrée, and so vpward, may well be counted numberz, till they moount vntoo infinitée, or els too confusion, which thing the sum of Too can neuer admit: nor it self can well bee coounted a number, but rather a fréendly coniunction of too ones, that, keeping in a synceritée of accord, may purport vnto vs, Charitée each too other, mutuall locue, agrément, & integritée of friendship withoout dissimulation. Az iz in thez: The too testaments. The too Tables of the Law. The too great lights, *Duo luminaria† magna*, The Sun & Moon.

[tp. 75.] And but mark a lyttl, I pray, and see hoow of all things in the world, our toongs in talk doo alweyz so redily trip vpon tooz, payrz, & cooplz: sumtyme as of things in equality, sumtime of differens, sumtime of contrariez, or for comparyzon, but chéeffy, for the most part, of things that betwéen themseluez do well agrée & ar fast linked in amitée: Az fyrst, for pastyme, hoounds and hawks: déer, red & fallo; hare and fox; partrich & fezaunt; fysh & fooul; carp & tench. For warz, spear & shéeld, hors & harnéis, sword & bukler. For sustenauns, wheat & barly, peaz and beanz, meat and drinke, bread & meat, béer & ale, appls and pearz.

But least by such dualitée I draw you too far: let vs heer stay, and cum néerer home. Séee what a sort of fréendly binitéez we our seluez doo consist & stond vpon. Fyrst, our too féet, too legs, too knéez, so vpward: and abooue, too shoolderz, too armz & too hands. But chéeffy our principll Too, that iz, body and soll: then in the hed, whear all our sensez méet, and almost all in Too: too noze-thrills, too earz, and too eyz. So ar we of fréendly Too:z, from

[§p. 76.] top too to. Wel, to this number of binitéez, take
The two ye one mo for an vpsot, & héer an éend. Too
Diallz. Dyallz ny vnto the battilments ar set aloft vpon too
of the sidez of Cezarz tour, one East, thoother
Soouth²; for so stond they best to sheaw the ourz too the

¹ The motto of the great Lord Bacon was *Cor unum, una via.*—*Ken. Ill.* p. 38.

² The marks occasioned by fastening up these dials are very distinct and obvious at the present day (1821).—*Ken. Ill.* p. 38, note 4.

tooun & cuntrée: both fayre, large, and rich, by vyse¹ for ground, & goold for letterz, whearby they glitter conspicuous a great wey of. The clokbell that iz good & shrill, waz commaunded too silens at first, and in déede sang not a note all the while her highnes waz thear; the clok stood also still withall. But mark noow, whither wear it by chauns, by constellation of starz, or by fatall appoyntment (if fatez and starz doo deal with dialz). Thus waz it in déede: The

The Diallz
at ii. a klok.

handz of both the tablz stood firm and fast, allweyz poynting too iust too a klok, still at too a klok. Which thing beholding by hap at first, but after seriously marking in déed, enprinted intoo me a déepe sign & argument certain, That thiz thing, amoong the rest, waz for full signifianns of his Lordship's honorabl, frank, frendly, and nobl hart toward al estates. Which, whither cum they to stay & take chéer, or straight to returne: too see, or to be séene: cum they for duty too her Maiesty [*p. 77.] or looue *too hiz Lordship, or for both; cum they early or late: for his Lordship's part, they cum allweyz all at too a klok, een iump² at too a klok: That iz to say, in good harte, good acceptauns, in amitée, and freendlye wellcoom. Who saw els that I saw, in right must say az I say. For so manye thinges byside, Master Humfrey, wear heerin so consonant vnto my construction, that thiz poynting of the klok (to my self) I took in amitée, as an oracle certain. And héer iz my windlesse, lyke yoor coorse as pleaz ye.

But noow, syr, to cum to eend. For receyuing of her hig[h]nes, and entertainment of all thooother estatez. Syns of delicatez that ony wey mought serue or delight: az of wyne, spice, deynty viaunds, plate, Musik, ornaments of hoous, rich arras & sylk, (too say nothing of the meaner thinges,) the mass by prouizion waz heaped so hoouge, which the boounty in spending did after bewray. The conceit so déep in casting the plat at first. Such a wizdom and cunning in acquiring things so rich, so rare, and in such abundauns: by so immens³ & profuse a charge of expens, whiche [†p. 78.] by so honorabl seruis & exquisit order, curteizy †of officerz, and humanitée of al, wear after so boountifully bestoed and spent, what may this express, what may this set out vntoo vs, but only a magnifyk minde, a singular

¹ See *Notes* at the end.

² plump, exactly. Did the two mean Elizabeth and Leicester?

³ immense; or noteworthy, wondrous, startling, from *eminens*.

wizdoom, a prinsly purs, and an heroicall hart? If it wear my theam, Master Martin, too speake of hiz Lordship's great honor & magnif[i]cens, though it be not in me too say sufficiently, az bad a penclark az I am, yet coold I say a great deel more.

But being heer now in magnificens, & matters of greatnes: it fals wel too mynd, The greatnes of his honor's Tent, that for her Maiestyez dining was pighte at long Ichington, the day her highnes cam to Killingworth Castl. A tabernacl indéed, for number and shift of large and goodlye roomz, for fayr & eazy offices, both inward & outward, al so likesum in order & eyesight, that iustly for dignitée may be comparabl with a beautifull Pallais, & for greatnes & quantitée with a proper tooun, or rather, a Cittadell. But to be short, least I kéepe yoo too long from the Ryall Exchaunge noow, and too cauz yoo conceyue mooche matter in feawest woordes: the Iron bedsted of Og the King of Basan (ye wot) waz foor yards and a halfe long, and too yards §wide¹, whearby ye consider a Gyaunt of a great proportion waz he. This tent had seauen cart lode of pynz² pertaining too it: noow for the greatness, gess az ye can.

And great az it waz (too marshall oor matters of greatnes together), not forgetting a Weather at Grafton, brought too the Coort, that for body and wooll was exceding great: the meazure I tooke not; let me sheaw you with what great marueyl a great Chylde of Leycetershire, at this long Ichington, by the Parents waz presented: great (I say) of limz & proportion, of a foor foot & foor inches hy: and els lanuginous³ az a lad of eyghtéen yee[r]z, béeing indeede auowd too be but six yéer old: nothing more bewraying hiz age then hiz wit: that waz, as for thooz yeers, simpl & childish.

As for vnto hiz Lordship, hauing with such greatnes of honorabl modestye & benignitée so passed foorth, as *Laudem sine inuidia et amicos pararit*, By greatness of well dooing, woon with all sorts to bée in such reuerens, az: *De quo mentiri fama veretur*. In synceritée of fréendship so great, az no man more deuocoutly woorships.

¹ Deuteronomy, chap. iii. verse 11.—*Burn*.

² The pins or pegs driven into the ground to hold the tent-ropes. (See note ³, p. 5 above.)

³ Lat. *lanuginosus*, full of, or abounding in *lanugo* (a wool-like production, down, etc.), hence 'covered with down, downy.'—*White and Riddle*.

⁴ Terentius, *Andr.* T. i. 39.—*Nichols*, ed. 1788, i. 50.

[*p. 80.] **Illud amicitiae sanctum et venerabile nomen.*
Ouid.

So great in liberalitie, az hath no wey to heap vp the mass of hiz trezure, but only by liberal gyuing & boounteous bestoing hiz trezure: foloing (az it séemez) *the saw*¹ of Martiall², that sayth,

*Extra fortunam est, quicquid donatur amicis ;
Quas dederis, solas semper habebis opes.*

Oout of all hazered doest thou set that to thy freends
thoou gyuest :

A surer trezure canst thoou not haue euer whyle
thoou lyuest.

What may thééz greatneses bode, but only az great honor, fame, & renouum, for thééz parts héer away, az euer waz vntoo thoz too nobl Greatz : the Macedonian Alexander in Emathia or Grées, or to Romane Charles in Germanye or Italy? which, wear it in me ony wey to set oout, no man of all men, by God (Master Martin), had euer more cauz, and *that* héerby consider yoo. It pleased his honor to beare me good wil at fyrst, & so too continu. To haue giuen me apparail, éeuen from hiz bak, to get me allowauns in *the* stabl, too aduauns me vntoo this worshipfull office, so néer the most honorabl Councell, to help me in my licens of Beanz (though indéed I do not so much vze it, for I thank [tp. 81.] God I néed not), to permit my good Father to serue the stabl. †Whearby I go noow in my sylks, *that* else might ruffl in my cut canues : I ryde now a hors bak, that els many timez mighte mannage it a foot: am knoen to their honors, & taken foorth with the best, that els might be bidden to stand bak my self : My good Father a good reléef, that hee farez mooch the better by ; and none of theez for my dezert, eyther at fyrst or syns : God, hee knoez. What say ye, my good fréend Humfrey? shoold I not for euer honor, extol him, al *the* weyz I can? Yes, by your leaue, while God lends me pvoor to vtter my minde! And (hauing az good cauz of his honor, az Virgil had of Augustus Cezar,) wil I poet it a littl with Virgill, and say,

¹ Nichols, ed. 1788, i. 50, reads 'that saw,' and says 'Another copy reads *the law of Martial.*'

² Lib. V., Epig. xliii.—*Nichols.*

Eglog. I. *Namque erit ille mihi semper Deus, illius aram
Sepe tener nostris ab ouilibus imbuet agnus.*

For he shallbe a god to me, till death my life consumez :
His auters will I sacrifice with incens and parfumez.

A singular patron of humanit e may he be well vnto vs,
toward all degr ez ; of Honor, toward hy Estates ; and
ch eflye, whearby we may learne in what dignit e, worship,
and reuerens, her highnes iz to be est emed, honored, and re-
ceiued, that waz neuer ind eed more condignly doon then

1266. An. h er, so as neither by the bylders at first, nor by †the
50 Hen. 3. Edict of pacification after¹, was euer Kenelworth
[†p. 82.] more nobled then by thiz, hiz Lordship's receiuing
hir highnes h er now.

But, Iesu ! Iesu ! whither am I drawen noow ? But talk I of
my Lord onz,  en thus it farez with me : I forget all, my
fr ends, & my self too. And yet yoo, being a Mercer, a
Merchant, az I am : my cuntr eman born, & my good
fr end withal, whearby I kno ye ar compassiond with me :
Me thought it my part, sumwhat to empart vnto yoo hoow
it iz h er with me, & hoow I lead my life, which ind eed
iz this :

A mornings I rize ordinarily at seauen a klok : Then
reddy, I go intoo the Chappell : soon after eyght, I get me
commonly intoo my Lord's Chamber, or intoo my Lord's pre-
zidents. Thear, at the cupboard, after I haue eaten *the*
manchet, serued ouer night for liuery², (for I dare be az bolld,
I promis yoo, az any of my freends the seruauents thear : and
indeed, could I haue fresh if I woold tary ; but I am of woont
iolly & dry³ a mornings) I drink me vp a good bol of Ale :
when in a sw et pot it iz defecated by al nights standing, the
drink iz *the* better ; take that of me⁴ : & a morsell in a morn-
ing, with a sound draught, iz very holsome and good for the
[§p. 83.] eyesight. Then I am az fresh all †*the* forenoon after,
az had I eaten a hole p ees of b ef. Noow, syr,

¹ See *Notes* at the end.

² A loaf of fine bread served-out over-night as Laneham's *livery* or allowance. Henry VIII.'s Knights, and others of the King's Councill, Gentlemen of the Chamber, etc., had each in 1526, 'Everie of them, being lodged within the courte, for their Bouch in the morning, one chet [coarse] loafe, one *manchet*, one gallon of ale.'—*Household Ordinances*, p. 163.

³ Is this the first use of this now slang phrase ?

⁴ John Russell and Andrew Boorde say that Ale must be 5 days old before it is drunk.—*Babees Book*, p. 128, 208. Before it was hopt, it had to be brewed fresh and fresh, and must have been all the better for standing.

if the Councill sit, I am at hand, wait at an inch, I warrant yoo. If any make babling, "peas!" (say I) "woot ye whear year?" if I take a lystenar, or a priar in at the chinks or at the lokhole, I am by & by in the bones of him¹; but now they kéep good order; they kno me well inough: If a be a fréend, or such one az I lyke, I make him sit dooun by me on a foorm, or a cheast: let the rest walk, a God's name!

And héer doth my langagez now and than stond me in good sted, my French, my Spanish, my Dutch, & my Latten, sumtime amoong Ambassadours men, if their Master be within with the Councel, sumtime with the Ambassadour himself, if hee bid call hiz lacky, or ask me whats a klok: and I warrant ye I aunswer him roundly, that they maruell to sée such a fello thear: then laugh I, & say nothing. Dinner & supper I haue twenty placez to go to, & hartly prayd to: And sumtime get I too Master Pinner, by my faith a worshipfull Gentlman, and az carefull for his charge az ony hir highnez hath: thear find I alway good store of very good viaunds: we eat and bee merry, thank God & the Quéene! Himself in [*p. 84.] féeding very temperat & moderat az ye shall sée ony: *and yet, by your leaue, of a dish—az a colld pigeon or so, that hath cum to him at meat, more then he lookt for,—I haue seen him éen so by and by surfit, az he hath pluct of hiz napkin, wyept his knife, & eat not a morsell more: lyke ynough to stik in hiz stomake a too dayz after: (Sum hard message from the higher officers, perceiue ye me?) Vpon search, hiz faithfull dealing and diligens hath found him faultles. In afternoons & a nights, sumtime am I with the right worshipfull Sir George Howard, az good a Gentlman as ony liuez: And sumtime at my good Lady Sidneis² chamber, a Noblewoman that I am az mooch boound vntoo, as ony poore man may bee vnto so gracyous a Lady: And sumtime in sum oother place; But alwayez among the Gentlwemen³ by my good will (O, yée kno that cum alweyez of a gentle spirite); & when I sée cumpany according, than can I be az lyuely to; sumtyme I foote it with daunsing: noow with my Gittern, and els with my Cittern,

¹ give him a good dig in the ribs.

² Mary, the sister of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, wife of Sir Henry Sydney, K.G. Their son, Robert Sydney, was created Baron Sydney of Penshurst, in Kent, 13th May, 1603; created Viscount L'Isle, May 4, 1605; and on 2 August, 1618, Earl of Leicester.—*Nicolas's Peerage*, ii. 630.

³ See note ² on next page.

then at the Virgynalz¹:—Ye kno nothing cums amisse to mée :
—then carroll I vp a song withall², that by and by they com
flocking about me lyke béez too hunny : and euer they cry,
[†p. 85.] “anoother, good Langham, anoother!” Shall I tell
you? †when I see Misterz—(A! see a madde
knaue! I had almost tolde all!) that shee gyuez onz but an ey
or an ear : why, then man, am I blest! my grace, my corage,
my cunning iz doobled : She sayz sumtime she likez it, & then
I like it mooch the better ; it dooth me good to heer hoow
well I can doo. And, too say truth : what, with myne eyz, az I
can amorously gloit it, with my Spanish sospires,³ my French

¹ The musical instruments principally in use in barbers' shops, during the 16th. and 17th. centuries were the *cittern*, the *gittern*, the lute, and the *virginals*. Of these the *cittern* . . . was in shape somewhat like the English guitar of the last century, but had only four double strings of *wire*, *i. e.* two to each note . . . The peculiarity of the *cittern*, or *cithren*, was that the third string was tuned lower than the fourth, so that if the first or highest string was tuned to *e*, the third would be the *g* below, and the fourth the *intermediats b* . . . The *gittern* . . . Ritson rightly says, differed chiefly from the *cittern* in being strung with *gut* instead of wire. It was in fact a guitar. In the catalogue of musical instruments left in the charge of Philip von Wilder at the death of Henry VIII, we find “four *Gitterons*, which are called Spanish vialles.” These were guitars with *six* strings, for, at this time, the Spanish guitar had but four strings, and the Spaniards gave the name of *Vihuela* to those with six. In the old play of ‘*Lingua*’ we read

’Tis true the finding of a dead horse-head
Was the first invention of *string* instruments,
Whence rose the *Gitterne*, Viol and the Lute.

Dodsley's Old Plays, vol. v., p. 198 . . .

The *virginals* (probably so called because chiefly played upon by young girls) resembled in shape the ‘square’ pianoforte of the present day, as the harpsichord did the ‘grand.’ The sound of the pianoforte is produced by a hammer striking the strings ; but when the keys of the virginal or harpsichord were pressed, the *jacks* (slender pieces of wood, armed at the upper end with quills) were raised to the strings, they acted as *plectra*, by impinging, or twitching them.—*Chappell's Popular Music*, vol. i. p. 101-4. See also p. 35, 98, 248, 764, etc.

² Compare Hugh Rhodes's *Boke of Nurture* in the *Babees Book*, p. 85,

A plyaunt seruaunt gets fauour to his great aduantage ;
Promoted shall he be in offyce or fee, easilier to lyue in age.
Use honest pastyme, talke or synge, or some Instrument vse :
Though they be thy betters, to heare they will thee not refuse.

(l. 129-36.)

And as to the ‘Gentlwemen’ above, compare Rhodes's further directions, p. 86,

For your preferment resorte to such as may you vantage :
Among Gentlemen for their rewards ; to honest dames for maryage . . .
Honest qualities and gentle, many men doth aduantage
To good maryages, trust me, and their names doth inhaunce. (l. 141-52.)

³ Laneham gives in this passage a specimen of making love in the various languages in which he was skilled. *Suspiro*, in the Spanish tongue, signifies

heighes, mine Italian dulcets, my Dutch houe^z,
 my doobl releas, my hy reachez, my fine feyning,
 my déep diapason, my wanton warblz, my running,
 my tyming, my tuning, and my twynkling, I can gracify the
 matters az well az the prowdest of them; and waz yet neuer
 staynd, I thank God. By my troth, cuntreman, it iz sumtim
 by midnight ear I can get from them. And thus haue I
 told ye most of my trade, al the léeué long daye: what will
 ye more? God saue the Quéene and my Lord! I am well, I
 thank yoo.

Héerwith ment I fully to bid ye farewell, had not this
 doubt cum to my minde, that heer remainz a doout in yoo,
 which I ought (me thought) in any wyze to cléer: Which
 iz, ye maruel perchauns to sée me so bookish. Let me tell
 yoo in few woords: I went to scool forsooth both at Pollez,
 [*p. 86.] & *also at Saint Antoniez: in the fifth foorm, past
 Esop fabls iwys, red Terens: "Vos istæc intro au-
 fertè;" & began with my Virgill "Tytire tu patulæ." I coold¹
 my rulez, coold conster & pars with the best of them. Synz
 that, az partly ye kno, haue I traded the feat of marchaun-
 dize in sundry Cuntreyz, & so gat me Langagez, which
 do so littl hinder my Latten, az (I thank God) haue mooch
 increast it. I haue leizure sumtime, when I tend not vpon
 the counsell: whearby, now look I on one booke, noow on
 an other. Stories I delight in, the more auncient & rare, the
 more likesum vntoo mee. If I tolld ye, I lyked William
 a Malmesbery so well, bicauz of hiz diligenz & antiquitée.
 Perchauns ye woold conster it bicauz I loue Mamzey so
 well: but, I feith! it iz not so: for sipt I no more Sak &
 suger (& yet neuer but with company) then I doo Malmzey,
 I should not blush so moch a dayz as I doo: ye kno my
 minde. Well, noow! thus fare ye hartily well! y feith! if with
 wishing it coold haue béen, ye had had a buk or too this
 soomer; but we shal cum neerer shortly, & then shal we merely
 méet; & grace a God! in the mean time commend me, I be-
 sek yo, vntoo my good freends, almost most of them your
 neighbors, Master §Allderman Pullison², a speciall
 fréende of mine: and, in ony wise, too my good old
 freend Master Smith, Custumer³, by that same token, "Set

a very deep sigh; *Hé*, in the French, expresses the emotions of the soul in love; *Dolce*, in Italian, means dear or beloved; and in Dutch, *Hoofsheid* is the word for courtship.—*Burn*, p. 114; *Nichols*, i. 483.

¹ knew; as in 'coold hiz lesson,' p. 38.

² Afterwards Sir Thomas Pullison, and Lord Mayor in 1584.—*Nichols* and *Burn*.

³ See p. 45, note.

my hors vp too the rak, & then lets haue a cup of Sak!"—He kneoz the token well ynough, & wil laugh, I hold ye a grote. —Too Master Thorogood: And too my mery cumpanion (a Mercer, ye wot, az we be,) Master Denman, "Mio fratello in Christo:" he iz woont too summon me by the name of "Ro. La. of the Coounty Nosingham¹, Gentlman." A good companion, I feyth! Well, onez again, fare ye hartely well! From the Coourt. At the Citée of Worceter, the xx of August, 1575.

Yor countréeman, companion, & freend assuredly: Mercer, Merchantaenturer, and Clark of the Councel-chamber door, and also kéeper of the same: El Prencipe negro. Par me, R. L. Gent. Mercer.

DE MAIESTATE REGIA

Benigno.

*Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea lingua,
Iactanter Cícero, ad iustus illud habe:
Cedant arma togæ, vigil et toga cedit honori,
Omnia concedant Imperioque suo.*

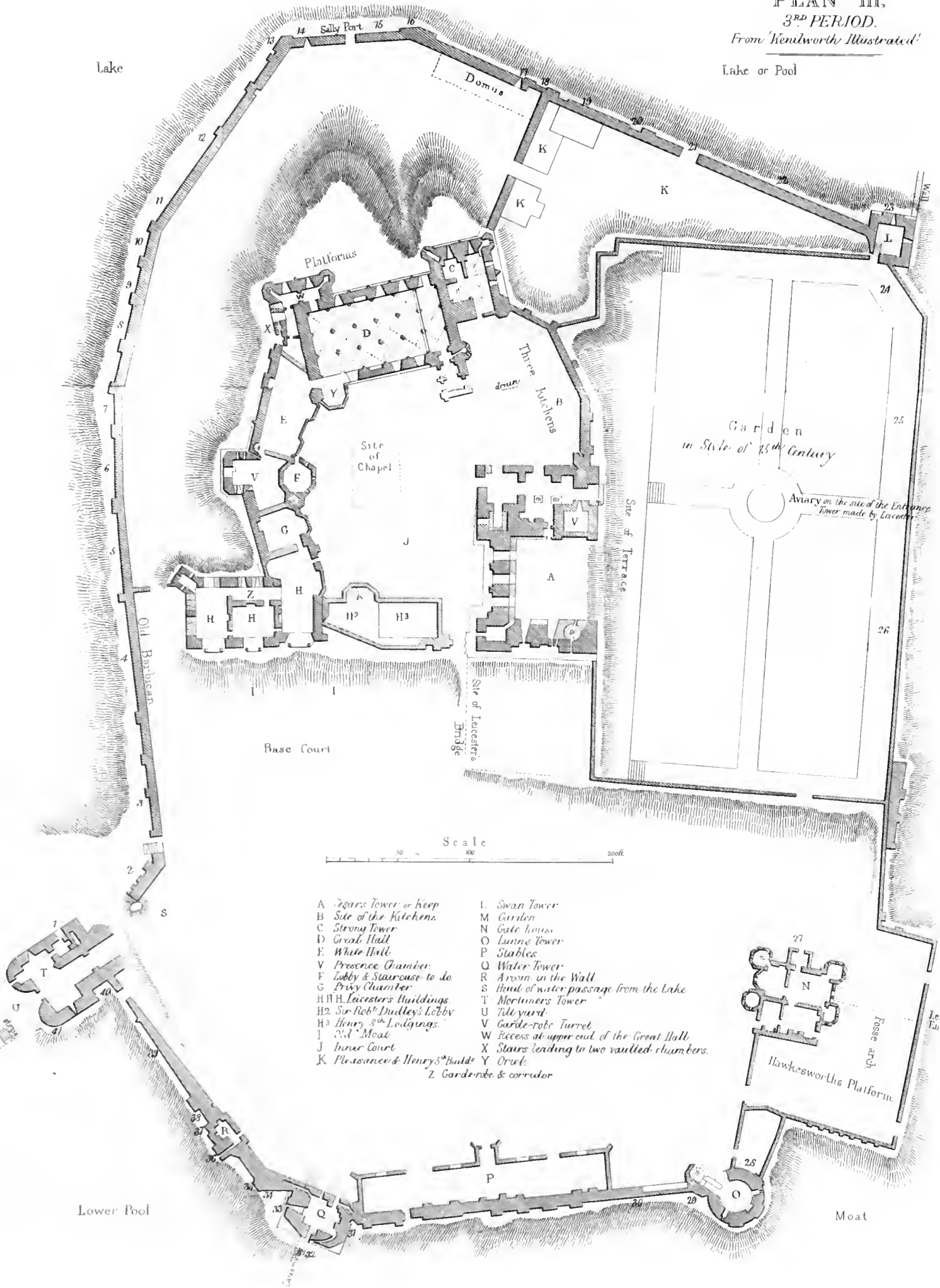
DEO OPT. MAX. GRATIÆ.

¹ I don't take this to be a mistake for Nottingham, but a quiz on Laneham's nose, which, as his cheeks blusht so much (p. 61), must have been red too.

PLAN III,
3RD PERIOD.
From 'Kenilworth Illustrated'

Lake

Lake or Pool



- | | |
|--|--|
| A Square Tower or Keep | I Swan Tower |
| B Side of the Kitchens | M Garden |
| C Strong Tower | N Gate House |
| D Great Hall | O Lunns Tower |
| E White Hall | P Stables |
| F Provoince Chamber | Q Water Tower |
| G Lobby & Staircase to do | R Armoir in the Wall |
| H Privy Chamber | S Head of water passage from the lake |
| H1 Leicester's Buildings | T Mortimer's Tower |
| H2 Sir Rob ^d Dudley's Lobby | U Till yard |
| H3 Henry 3 rd 's Lodgings | V Garde-robs Turret |
| I Old Moat | W Recess at upper end of the Great Hall |
| J Inner Court | X Stairs leading to two vaulted chambers |
| K Pleasance & Henry's Buildg | Y Orick |
| Z Garde-robe & corridor | |

APPENDIX.

THE following is the report of King Henry VIII.'s surveyors on Kenilworth.

[Cott. MS. Vesp. F. ix. leaf 302.]

THE CASTLE OF KILLINGWORTH, SITUATE VPON A ROCK.

- [Ci]rcuit. 1. The Circuite whereof within the walls conteyneth 7. acres, vpon which the walks are so spacious & faire that two or three persons may walke together vpon most places thereof.
- [Bu]ilding. 2. The Castle with the 4 Gatehouses all built of freestone hewen and cutt; the walls in many places of 15. & 10. foot thicke, some more, some lesse, the least fower foot in thicknes square.
- Couering. 3. The Castle & 4. Gatehouses all covered with Lead, whereby it is subiect to no other decay then the glasse, through the extremity of weather.
- [R]oomes. 4. The Roomes of great State within the same, & such as are able to receaue his Majesty, the Queen, & Prince, at one tyme, built with as much vniformity and conueniency as any houses of later tyme; and with such stately Sellars, all caried vpon pillars, and Architecture of free stone carued and wrought, as the like are not within this Kingdome; and also all other houses for Offices aunswerable.
- [Ch]ases & Parks. 5. There lieth about the same in Chases and Parks 1200^{li} per annum; 900^{li}. whereof are grounds for pleasure,—the rest in meadow & pasture thereto adioyning, Tennants and freeholders.
- [King]swood-copses. 6. There ioyneth vpon this ground a Parklike ground, called the Kings wood, with 15. seuerall Coppisses lyeng altogether, conteyning 789. acres within the same; which, in the Earle of Leicesters tyme, were stored with Red deere. Since which, the Deere stroyed;¹ but the ground in no sort blemished, having great store of Tymber & other Trees of much valewe vpon the same.
- [P]oole. 7. There runneth through the said grounds by the walls of the said Castle a faire Poole, conteyning 111 acres, well stored with fish and fowle, which at pleasure is to be lett round about the Castle.
- [Timbe]r & woods. 8. In Tymber and woods vpon theis grounds to the valew (as hath been offred) of 20,000^{li}; hauing a convenient tyme to remove them; which to his Majesty, in the Suruey, are but valewed at 11722^{li},—which pro-

¹ have been destroyed.

portion, in a like measure, is held in all the rest vpon the other valewes to his Majesty.

[Co]mpasse. 9. The Circuits of the Castle, Manors, Parks, and Chase, lieing round, together conteyne at least 19. or 20. miles, in a pleasaunt Countrey,—the like both for strength, state, and pleasure not being within the Realme of England.

[Su]ruey. 10. Theis lands haue been *surueied* by Commis-
sioners from the King and the Lord Priuy seale, with direccions from his Lordship to finde all things vnder the true worth, and vpon oath of Jurours, aswell freeholders, as Customary Tenaunts; which course being held by them are notwithstanding *surueied* and returned at 38,554^{li} 15^s. Out of which, for Sir Robert Dudley's Contempt, there is to be deducted 10000^{li}.; for the Lady Dudley's Joynture, which is without ympeachment of wast, whereby she may sell all the woods, (which by the Suruey amount vnto 11722^{li}.) what shalbe thought reasonable.

	li.	s.
The Totall of the Suruey } ariseth as followeth, viz. :—	In land . . .	16431. 9
	In woods . . .	11722. 2
	The Castle . . .	10401. 4

Estate. 11. His Majesty hath herein the meane profits of the Castle and premisses through Sir Robert Dudley's Contempt, during his life or his Majesty's Pardon. The Reuer-
cion in fee being in the Lord priuy seale.

NOTES ON LANEHAM'S LETTER.

P. 2. *Ayr sweet and hollsum*.—See the interesting chap. 3 of Andrew Boorde's *Dyetary*, p. 235 of my edition of Boorde, 1870. Also chapter 2, on the site of a house.

P. 3. *The Bridge*.—This dry valley was partly filled up by Col. Haukesworth, ab. 1650, when he dismantled the Castle, but part still remains. It is in fact the original Norman moat (1135) which was dried, and partly filled up, when at the close of the 12th century Geoffrey Clinton's successors threw out a more extensive line of fortifications.—E. H. Knowles.

P. 3.—In the year of 642, Penda, King of Mercia, invaded the dominions of Oswald, King of Northumberland; who was slain after a fierce battle at Maserfield. Burthred, or Buthred, who is mentioned in the context, was the last King of Mercia; whose kingdom was invaded in 874, by the West-Saxons, under Alfred. Thus overpowered he fled to Rome, where he died.—Burn's ed. of *Laneham*, p. 94; *Nichols*, i. 428.

P. 6.—The Porter burst out, in verses 'devised and pronounced by Master Badger of Oxford, Master of Arts, and Bedel in the same University,' and given in *Gascoigne*, p. 7, ed. 1821.

P. 6.—See Malory's *Kyng Arthur*, bk. i. cap. xxv. Soo they rode tyl they came to a lake, the whiche was a fayr water, and brood. And in the myddes of the lake, Arthur was ware of an arme clothed in whyte samyte, that held a fayr swerd in that hand. "Loo," said Merlyn, "yonder is that swerd that I spak of." With that they sawe a damoisel goyng vpon the lake. "What damoyssel is that?" said Arthur. "That is THE LADY OF THE LAKE," said Merlyn; "And within that lake is a roche; and theryn is as fayr a place as ony on erthe, and rychely beseene; and this damoyssell wyll come to yow anone; and thenne speke ye fayre to her, that she will gyue yow that swerd."

P. 7, 9. *Musical Instruments*.—Lord Warren and De Tabley has been kind enough to lend me a MS Commonplace book of his ancestor Sir Philip Leycester, dated 1656, that the musical part may be edited by Dr. Rimbault for the Early English Text Society. But as several of the instruments mentioned by Laneham are described in it, I extract the bits relating to them.

[*leaf 86 back.] "It will not be amisse here to insert the severall Kinds of Musicall Instruments now of most Vse in England, as they be now vsed, 1656. . . .

[†leaf 87.] "†Of Single Wynd Instruments, the most excellent are the Cornet, the Shalme, & Sackbut.

"The CORNET is about two foote in length; not so streight as the Shalme; but with a little bendinge or Incurvation; it is bored through, & hath little holes at the side thereof, *which*, beinge stopt with the fingers, gives the variety of Soundes; & yeildeth a shrill-quakinge-Sound, *which* is produced by the Art of the Mouth, as the Hunt's-man's Horne & Trumpet are caused by the blast of the mouth.

[*leaf 87 back.] "The SHALME is made of Wood, & after the same manner of the Cornet, & about the same length, bored thorough also, with little holes at the side, to be stopt with the fingers, for distinction of Soundes. This is a streight Piece of Wood, & hath a Reede put into the Smaller end thereof (which is made artificially, & bound about the Lower end with a Thred), which with the blast of the mouth causeth a shrill Sound, & is done with lesse straininge then the Cornet, *which* hath no Reede, but the Sound thereof forced with the Mouth. ¹The greater end of it is made in forme of a little Bell, like the end of a Trumpet¹.

"The SACKBUT is made of Brasse or Alchimy², & gives distinction of Soundes, not by holes, as other Pipes, †but by movinge the outward part of it higher or Lower; for there is a Devise vpon it, to be drawne vp & downe. The Sound of it is caused by the blast of the mouth; & it hath some resemblance to a Trumpet. This Instrument giveth a Deepe Sound, & is to play the Basse-partie.

"There are also of an inferiour Kind, as FLUITS, RECORDERS, BAG-PIPES,—& these last both greater & lesse,—so called because they have bags fastened to the Pipe, *which*, beinge stuff with the wind of the Mouth, causeth the Sounde. But these Pipes are never used by any Artists in Musicke; but by the more Rusticall Sorte of People.

[‡leaf 88 back.] "‡The Stringed Instruments now in vse are two fold, either Gut-stringes or Wyre-stringes.

"Instruments with Gut-stringes are of Three sortes.

"1 The HARPE, which is made in forme of a Triangle, & hath the stringes open on both sides, for either hande to play with all: & is played vpon with the fingers of both handes.

"2 The LUTE, which is made with a Round backe, like a halfe-Globe, the belly of it flat & even to the finger-board. This is playd vpon with the fingers of the right hand, & stoppinge the [§leaf 89.] notes with the left hand on the finger-board. §It hath sometymes 24 strings, sometimes 19 stringes; and sometymes lesse, as pleaseth the Musitian to have it.

"Of this Kind is the THEORBO, beinge only a Basse-Lute: made larger to carry a Deepe Sounde.

¹⁻¹ Written in the margin.

² ? tin.

"3 The VIOLE: which is either Treble, Tenour, or Base, accordinge to its magnitude: These have onely Sixe stringes a peece, and are played vpon with a Bowe.

"of this Sorte also is the VIOLIN, which hath but fowre stringes, & is the least sort: which carryes an excellent Treble parte; save onely this hath no frets on the fingerboard (because of its littleness) as the other Violes have; but the notes on this are strooke by the Eare.

[*leaf 89 back.] "*Instruments with Wyre-stringes are of fowre sorts.

1 VIRGINALLS. These are made with Keyes, as the Organs: and indeed is nothing else but a stringed Organ.

from these the HARPSICALLS & double Harpsicalls are deduced; all made after the same manner.

2 ORPHARION: which is onely a Wyre-stringed Lute; save the forme of the backe of this is made more flat, the Lute more round: & from this the BANDORA¹ (as we call it) somewhat larger; [†leaf 90.] the frets on the finger-board of these beinge made of †brasse, which is layd into the Wood; but the frets of the Lute & Violes are made of Stringes tyed about the finger-board.

"3 HARPE: which we vsually call THE IRISH HARPE, as most vsed by them, with Wyre-stringes: the other called by vs THE WELSH-HARPE, with Gut-stringes.

"4. The PSITTYRNE; & from thence the GITTERNE: of which I haue made mention before, fo. 85. [The passage at leaf 85 about the Psittyrne² is, "This Instrument is not so apt for the voyce as the Lute or Viole, but yeilds a Sweete and Gentle Sound, which the name importeth: for ψιθύρα is a Greeke word, & commeth of ψιθύρος, which signifyes 'a whisperinge Sound'; like to which is the sound of this Instrument: some write it 'Citharen,'—but falsely,—for 'Psithyren,' &, by contraction, 'Psittyrne.' It containeth fowre Course of stringes, as at this day we vse it, each Course beinge doubled, havinge two Stringes of one sound in each course: They are Wire Stringes: & is played vpon with a little peice of a Quill or Pen, wherewith the Stringes be touched. It is now vsually taught by Letters, not by Notes of Musicke.

¹ Bandora, a musically Instrument with Wyre-strings, so called; first made by John Rose, dwelling in Bridewell, anno 4^o Eliz: 1562, who left a sonne farre excellenge himselfe in makinge Instruments. *Houes continuation of Stow: pag: 869.*—Sir P. Leycester's Index to his MS.

² This is preceded by an account of the two best "PSITHYRISTS. For the little Instrument called a PSITTYRNE, Anthony Holborne and Tho: Robynson were most famous of any before them, and haue both of them set out a Booke of Lessons for this Instrument. Holborne hath composed a Basse-parte for the Viole to play vnto the Psittyrne with those Lessons Set out in his booke: these lived about Anno Domini 1600."

Like unto this is the Instrument we now vsually do¹ call a GITTERN, which indeed is onely a Treble Psittyrne, beinge somewhat lesse then the other, yeildinge a more Treble Smart Sound, havinge the same number & the same Order of Wynd-strings, & playd vpon with a Quill, after the same order as the Psittyrne; onely some variation in the Tuninge, which may also be varied in the Psittyrne at pleasure.]

"To these may be added the APOPEY, brought into England about 1644, which is playd on with two little sticks; in either hand one; & hath Wyre-strings, onely 4 Course.

"These I thought good to mention here, that Posterity may know the difference of them, and likewise what new Inventions shall be found out afterwards."

P. 12. *Sunday Dauncing.*—

He know to dance on Sundays.

Little Thief, A. iij.—E. H. Knowles.

P. 13. *The Chase.*—There is a spot in the Chase still called the Queen's Standing-Ground. Cf. Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley*, ch. iii.—E. H. Knowles.

P. 13. *Earning of the hounds.*—*Earn* or *Yorne* is a term of art: compare *Vallentine* (the Courtier) . . . I confesse I am vnskillfull, yet vnlesse I bee much deceaued, I haue hard hounds *barke* by night, & haue seene foulers ketch Woodcockes in colde weather.

Vincent (the Cuntrey-Gentleman) In deede it may bee you haue hard sumtimes hounds *yorne* (for so you ought to terme it) by night; and I suppose the winter weather, and hard, is fittest for ketching of Woodcockes in deede. 1586. *The English Courtier and the Cuntrey-gentleman*, p. 55-6, ed. 1868, Roxburge Library.

P. 16. *Bearbaiting.*—So too Arthur Golding in his 'Discourse upon the Earthquake' on April 6, 1580 "The Saboth dayes and holy dayes, ordayned for the hearing of Gods word, to the reformation of our lyves . . . and finally for the speciall occupying of our selues in all spirituall exercizes, is spent full heathenishly in taverning, tipling, gaming, playing, and beholding of *Beare-baytings* and Stage-playes, to the utter dyshonor of God, impeachment of all godlynesse, and unnecessarie consuming of mennes substances, which ought to be better employed." (Quoted in Collier's *Stationers' Registers*, ii. 118.)

P. 17. *Nyez.*—A vulgarism.

Your pale seekes & hollow *nyes*.

The Little Thief, Act IV.—E. H. Knowles.

? pinken eyes. There is a singular coincidence between Laneham's description of a bear-fight, and that given in the Romance of "Kenilworth," where the Earl of Sussex presents a petition

¹ 'tearme a Kit some' is struck out, and 'Gittern' written at the side.

from Orson Pinnet, keeper of the Royal Bears, against Shakespeare and the players. It is evident that the author of "Kenilworth" had the passage in his mind; and as the reader may also like to compare the two passages, an extract from the Romance is here inserted: "There you may see the bear lying at guard with his red pinky eyes, watching the onset of the mastiff like a wily captain, who maintains his defence, that an assailant may be tempted to venture within his danger." See *Kenilworth*, vol. ii. p. 129.—*Burn*, p. 98; *Nichols*, i. 439. *Ken. Ill.* says 'pink nyez'—winking-eyes. Dutch *pincken*, to wink. P. 15, note 1.

P. 26. *Coventry* . . is a faire, famous, sweet, and ancient City, so walled about with such strength and neatnesse, as no City in England may compare with it: in the wals (at severall places) are 13 Gates and Posterns whereby to enter and issue too and from the City; and on the wals are 18 strong defensible Towers, which do also beautifie it: in the City is a faire and delicate Crosse, which is for structure, beauty, and workmanship, by many men accounted unmatched in this Kingdome; although my selfe, with some others, do suppose that of Abington in Berkeshire will match it; and I am sure the Crosse in Cheapside at London doth farre out-passe it. (1639. John Taylor. *Part of this Summers Travels*, p. 9.)

P. 26, margin. *Florilegus*.—? = Matthew of Westminster.—E. H. Knowles.

P. 31. *Musters*.—In the Musters taken in 1574 and 1575 A.D. printed in *Household Ordinances*, p. 270-1, Warwick figures for 300 able men, 978 armed men, 300 artificers and pyoneers, 16 demi-lances, and 90 light-horse.

P. 31. *Nippitate*.—

Pompiona, Princess of Moldavia.

Oft have I heard of your brave countrymen,
And fertile soil, and store of wholesome food.
My father oft will tell me of a drink
In England found, and *Nipitato* call'd,
Which driveth all the sorrow from your hearts.

Ralph. Lady, 'tis true: you need not lay your lips
To better *Nipitato* than there is.

Beaumont and Fletcher, *Knight of the Burning Pestle*,
Act iv, Scene 2, *Works*, ed. Darley, 1840, vol. ii,
p. 90, col. 2.

P. 32. *An Ambrosiall Banket . . dishez . . a three hundred*.—A dinner in London in 1569 is thus described:

This day, my Lorde his speciall friende
must dyne with him (no naye),

His Partners, Friendes and Aldermen :
 wherefore he must puruaye
 Both Capon, Swan, and Hernshoe good,
 fat Bitture, Lareke, and Quayle :
 Right Plouer, Snype, and Woodcock fine,
 with Curlew, Wype¹, and Rayle :
 Stonetiuet², Teale, and Pecteaes good,
 with Busterd fat and plum,
 Fat Pheasaunt Powt, and Plouer base
 for them that after come.
 Stent, Stockard, Stampine, Tanterueale,
 and Wigeon of the best :
 Puyt³, Partrich, Blackbirde and
 fat Shoueler with the rest.
 Two Warrants eke he must prouide
 to haue some Venson fat,
 And meanes héele make for red Déere too,
 (there is no nay of that.)
 And néedefully he must prouide
 (although we speake not ont)
 Both Peacock, Crane, and Turkicoock,
 and (as such men are wont,)
 He must foresee that he ne lacke
 colde bakemetes in the ende :
 With Custards, Tarts, and Florentines,
 the banquet to amende.
 And (to be short, and knit it vp)
 he must not wanting sée
 Straunge kindes of fysh at second course
 to come in their degré,
 As Porpesse, Seale and Salmond good,
 with Sturgeon of the best,
 And Turbot, Lobster, with the lyke
 to furnish out the feast.
 All this theyle haue, and else much more,
 sydes Marchpane and gréene Chéese,
 Stewde wardens, Prunes, & sweete conserues,
 with spiced Wine like Léés,
 Gréeneginger, Sucket, Sugar Plate,
 and Marmaladie fine,
 Blauncht Almonds, Peares and Ginger bread ;
 But Peares should we assigne
 And place before (as meete it is)
 at great mens boordes ; for why,

[Sign. D. iii.]

¹ Lapwing.² ? Stonechat.³ Peewit.

Rawe frutes are first in service styll¹,

Else Seruing men doo lye.

1575. E. Hake. Newes out of Powles Churchyarde.

Sign. D. ii. back, and D. iii.

P. 33.—This device of the Lady of the Lake was also by Master Hunnis (p. 5, note 4, above). He had also designed a preliminary night skirmish on the water between the Lady of the Lake's men and Sir Bruce's, all floating upon heaps of bulrushes; but this was not carried out. The speeches of Triton to the Queen, and the winds, etc., the Lady of the Lake's speech, and the Song of Proteus, all in verses, which "as I think, were penned, some by Master Hunnis, some by Master Ferrers, and some by Master Goldingham," are given in *Gascoigne's Princ. Pleas.* p. 23-8, ed. 1821.

P. 34. *Syr Bruse sauns pitée.*—See Sir E. Strachey's modernised edition of Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*, bk. ix. ch. 41, p. 235. "Sir knight, said the lady [to Sir Dinadan] I am the wofullest lady of the world; for within these five days here came a knight called Sir Breuse Sance Pitée, and he slew mine own brother, and ever since he hath kept me at his own will; and of all the men in the world I hate him most." See also p. 301. Sir Breuse and Sir Dinadan are from the French Romance of the *Prophecies de Merlin*.—Mr. Hy. Ward of the Brit. Mus. tells me,—as are also Alisander le Orphelin and Alice la Beale Pilgrime, p. 268, 273, 455 of Strachey's Malory.

Arion.—"There was a spectacle presented to Q. Elizabeth vpon the water, and amongst others, Harry Goldingham was to represent Arion vpon the Dolphin's backe; but finding his voice to be very hoarse and vnpleasant when he came to performe it, he teares of his disguise, and sweares he was none of Arion; not he! but eene honest Harry Goldingham,—which blunt discoverie pleas'd the Queene better then if it had gone thorough in the right way. Yet he could order his voice to an instrument exceeding well."—Para. 221, of Harl. MS. 6395—a book of "Merry Passages & Jeasts," collected by Sir Nicholas L'Estrange of Hunstanton, Bart., who died in 1669.

P. 35. *Kings Evil*—For a form of prayer, see Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia*, vol. iii.—E. H. Knowles. See Andrew Boorde on the King's Evil, p. 91-93, 121, of my edition, 1870.

P. 36. *A Devise of Goddesses and Nymphes.*—A very particular account of this intended "Devise" [in two acts] will be found in Gascoigne (*Princely Pleasures*, p. 30-53), who was the author of it.—*Nichols*, i. 419; *Ken. Ill.* p. 26, note 2. It was 'prepared and ready, (every actor in his garment) two or three days together,

¹ frutes afore mete, to ete hem fastyngely.—ab. 1440 A.D. *Russell's Boke of Nurture*, Babees Book, p. 162, l. 667.

yet never came to execution. The cause whereof I cannot attribute to any other thing than to lack of opportunity and reasonable weather.'—*Ib.* p. 53.

P. 36. *Ruff's fayr starched*, etc.—¹The pains bestowed by our ancestors upon their *Ruffs* is little known to the general reader, who will be surprised to find from the ensuing extracts, that it fully equalled the *Dandyism* of the present day. In the "Second part of the Anatomie of Abuses, by P. Stubbes, 1583," is the following dialogue :

Theod. I haue heard it saide that they vse great ruffes in *Dnalgne* [England], do they continue them still as they were wont to doe, or not ?

Amphil. There is no amendement in any thing that I can see, neither in one thing nor in other, but euery day woorser and woorser, for they not only continue their great ruffes still, but also vse them bigger than euer they did. And wheras before they were too bad, now they are past al shame & honestie, yea most abhominable and detestable, and such as the diuell himselfe would be ashamed to weare the like. And if it be true, as I heare say, they haue their starching houses made of purpose, to that vse and end only, the better to trimme and dresse their ruffes to please the diuels eies withall.

Theod. Haue they starching houses of purpose made to starch in ? Now truly that passes of all that euer I heard. And do they nothing in those brothell houses (starching houses I shuld say) but onelie starch bands and ruffes ?

Amphil. No, nothing else, for to that end only were they erected, & therefore now are consecrate to Belzebub and Cerberus archdiuels of great ruffes.

Theod. Haue they not also houses to set their ruffes in, to trim them, and to trick them, as well as to starch them in ?

Amphil. Yea marry haue they, for either the same starching houses (I had almost said farting houses) do serue the turn, or or else they haue their other chambers and secret closets to the same vse, wherein they tricke vp these cartwheeles of the diuels charet of pride, leading the direct way to the dungeon of hell.

*Amphil.*² What tooles and instruments haue they to set their ruffes withall. For I am persuaded they cannot set them artificially inough without some kind of tooles ?

Amphil. Very true: and doe you thinke that they want any thing that might set forth their diuelrie to the world ? In faith sir no, then the diuell were to blame if he should serue his clients

¹ Quoted in Nichols's Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 460, note 4 ; but our quotation from Stubbes is taken direct from the original.

² Mistake for *Theod.*

so, that maintaine his kingdome of pride with such diligence as they doe. And therefore I would you wist it, they haue their tooles and instruments for the purpose.

Theod. Whereof be they made I pray you, or howe ?

*Amphil*¹. They be made of yron and steele, and some of brasse, kept as bright as siluer, yea and some of siluer it selfe, and it is well, if in processe of time they grow not to be gold. The fashion whereafter they be made, I cannot resemble to any thing so well as to a squirt, or a squibbe, which little children vsed to squirt out water withall : and when they come to starching, and setting of their ruffles, than must this instrument be heated in the fire, the better to stiffen the ruffe. For you know heate will drie, and stiffen any thing. And if you woulde know the name of this goodly toole, forsooth the deuill hath giuen it to name a putter, or else a putting sticke, as I heare say. They haue also another instrument called a setting sticke, either of wood or bone, and sometimes of gold and siluer, make forked wise at both ends, and with this (*Si diis placet*) they set their ruffles. But bicause this cursed fruit is not yet grown to his full perfection of ripenesse, I will therefore at this time say no more of it, vntil I here more."

The same caustic writer also mentions that the ruffles have a support or under-propper, called a *supportasse*². Stowe informs us, that "about the sixteenth yeare of the Queene (Elizabeth) began the use of steel *poking-sticks*, and until that time all lawndresses used setting-sticks made of wood or bone."

In Marston's *Malcontent*, 1604, is the following observation, "There is such a deale of pinning these ruffles, when the fine clean fall is worth them all." And again, "If you should chance to take a nap in an afternoon, your falling-band requires no poking-stick to recover his form."

Middleton's comedy of *Blunt Master Constable*, 1602, has this passage : "Your ruff must stand in print, and for that purpose get *poking-sticks* with fair long handles, lest they scorch your hands." To conclude this long note, take the following extract from *Law Tricks*, 1608 :

"Broke broad jests upon her narrow wheel,
Poked her *rabatoes*, and surveyed her *steel* !"

Cotgrave explains *rabat*, "a Rebatoc for a womans ruffe ; also a falling-band." Menage says from *rabattre*, to put back, because it was at first nothing but the collar of the shirt or shift turned back towards the shoulders.

See another curious passage on Ruffs in the *Anatomie of Abuses*, 1583, leaf 22, back.

¹ Printed *Amphil*.

² Wrongly printed *supportasse* in Nichols.

P. 38.—Cp. Chaucer's Miller: "a Shefeld thwitel bare he in his hose."—*Nichols*, i. 462; *Ken. Ill.* p. 28.

P. 38. *Islington*.—

At Islington ther's Pudding Pies
Hot Custards.

M. Parker's *New Medley*, ii. back.—E. H. Knowles.

P. 39. *Holly Rood day*.—This festival was instituted on account of the recovery of a large piece of the Cross, by the emperor Heraclius, after it had been taken away, on the plundering of Jerusalem by Cosroes, King of Persia, about 615.—*Brand*, i. 200, ed. Hazlitt.

P. 39. *Islington and cream*.—

Imagine Islington to be the place,
The journey to eat cream.

ab. 1616. R. C. *Times Whistle*, p. 83, l. 2602-3.

P. 41 (⁶).—These stanzas are a versification of bk. 1, ch. 26, of Malory's edition; ch. 24, p. 48, of Strachey's modernization (Macmillans), 1868.—'In Caxton's edition, "La Morte d'Arthur," the chapter whence this story is taken is entitled, "How the tydings came to Arthur that King Ryons had overcome xi kynges; and how he desyred Arthur's berde to purfyl his mantel." With respect to the poetical tale given in the text, Dr. Percy, by whom it was printed in his "Reliques" (iii. 25), supposes the thought to have been originally taken from Jeffery of Monmouth's History. It has also been printed in "Percy Enderbie's Cambria Triumphans," with some variations in the text, which is probably much more pure than that used by Laneham, since it is stated to have been procured from "a manuscript in the library of the Royal Honourable Thomas Lord Windesore."—*Burn*, p. 109; *Nichols*, i. 465.

Ritson says of James Aske, who wrote *Elizabetha triumphans*, 1588, 'The initials J. A., probably those of this James Aske, are prefix'd and subscribe'd to "A defiance to K. A. [King Arthur] and his round table," at the end of *Musarum delicia*, 1656; being the identical ballad intended to have been sung by the mock minstrel describe'd in Langhams letter from Killingworth, 1579; beginning "As it befell on a Pentecost day."' *Bibliographia Poetica*, p. 407.

P. 41 (⁶). *Huque*, derived from the French *huque*, a cloak.—The tabards, or surcoats, of the ancient heralds, were often denominated bouces, or housings; and this expression was applied, indiscriminately, to their coats of arms as well as to a dark-coloured robe without sleeves, edged with fur, which they formerly wore.—*Burn*, p. 109.

P. 43.—Before Elizabeth went, a Farewell,—devised and spoken by Gascoigne as Sylvanus, god of the woods,—was presented before her 'as she went on hunting.' (*Princ. Pleas.* p. 53-74,

ed. 1821.) It was an elaborate speech of how the Gods rejoiced over her coming, and wept over her going; how she's the loveliest of Diana's nymphs; how she had turned her lovers into trees—Constancy into an oak, Vainglory into an ash (first in bud, first to cast its leaf), etc. Then music playd from an arbour of holly. Deep-Desire spoke a poem to the Queen, and then sang a song (accompanied by music).

P. 44. *Middleton*.—Lichfield and Worcester were both successively honoured in this Progress.—Query, what *Middleton* is here meant.—*Nichols*, i. 468.

P. 47.—*Rok*, a distaff.—See *The Wright's Chaste Wife*, l. 503, 508, and its Index. A distaff held in the hand, from which the wool was spun by a ball fixed below on a spindle, upon which every thread was wound up as it was done. It was the ancient way of spinning, and is still in use in many northern counties. *Vide Bailey*.—*Burn*, p. 110; *Nichols*, i. 471.

P. 48.—The following description refers to that part of the Castle called "Leicester's Buildings."—*Ken. Ill.* p. 35. See the plan there, next to p. 55, and the engraving of the ruined buildings, next p. 60. 'On a tablet below the middle window of the East front is the date of 1571.'

P. 48. *a beautiful Garden*.—It was to give privacy to this garden that Leicester altered the whole north entrance, as the road from the Wridfen and from Coventry came right *across* it: so he altered the north towers, making an aviary of one, and built a new Gateway Tower down a hundred yards to the East.—E. H. Knowles.

P. 48. *a pleazaunt Terres*. P. 53. *sweet shadoed walkk of Terres*.—This remains, ruined, but still 'sweet-shadoed.' To form it, Leicester probably filled up the northern division of the original Norman moat.—E. H. Knowles.

P. 50. *heawen oout of hard Porphiry*.—Poor Laneham was sadly hoaxed in this. Fragments of these so-called porphyry orbs have been found; but they are of painted sandstone. The pillars also were not in one 'hole pees.'—E. H. Knowles.

P. 53. *strawberiez, cheryez*.—Strawberries were rarely cultivated at this time, but gathered wild, as in Switzerland. The end of July was late for these cherries. (See Parker's *Domestic Architecture*.)—E. H. Knowles.

P. 53.—*Windlass* or *Windless* (in a Ship), a Drawbeam or piece of Timber having six or eight Squares, and fixt on the Stern aloft; which is now only us'd in small Ships, and in Flemish Vessels that are lightly Manned. But it will purchase or draw up much more than any Capstan, in the weighing of an Anchor, and that without Danger to the Men that heave.—*Kersey's Phillips*, 1706. But ? the context above points to *Wanlass*, a Term in Huuting, as

Driving the Wanlass, i. e. the driving of Deer to a stand; which in some Latin Records is termed *Fugatio Wanlassi ad Stabulum*, and in Domesday-Book, *Stabilitio Venationis*.—Ib. See the end of the 'windlesse,' p. 55.

P. 55. *Vyse*, or *bise*.—"The Iawe peces and crestes were karued with Vinettes and trailes of sauage worke, and richely gilted with gold and *Bise* . . . the Arches were vawted with Armorie, all of *Bice* and golde . . . and in the hole arche was nothing but fine *Bice* & golde."—*Hall's Chronicle*, ed. 1809, p. 722-3, A.D. 1527. *Bis* browne, duskie, swart, blackish.—*Cotgrave*.—*Bice* is a pale blue colour prepared from the Armenian stone, formerly brought from Armenia, but now from the silver mines of Germany; in consequence of which smalt is sometimes finely levigated, and called *bice*. The dials alluded to in the text were enamelled, and with the sun's reflection on the gold figures, heightened by the azure ground, must have had a most splendid appearance.—*Burn*, p. 113; *Nichols*, i. 478.

P. 58. *The Edict of Pacification*.—This alludes to the famous *Dictum de Kenelworth*, An act allowing persons disinherited by the Parliament after the battle of Evesham to redeem their estates on paying a fine.—*Ken. Ill.* p. 20, 41, from *Dugdale*. See *Statutes of the Realm*, ed. 1820, vol. i. p. 12.—*Burn*.

P. 58. *Then reddey, I go intoo the Chappell*.—This must surely have been a room fitted up *ex tempore*: since Leicester had secularized the 'Capella Turris' or chapel in the S.W. turret of the Keep, to insert a staircase; and the larger or King's Chapel had certainly disappeared.—E. H. Knowles.

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 geazon, 21, scarce, A. Sax. *gæsen*.
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 Genius loci, 46.
 gentlewomen, Laneham always with
 when he can be, 59.
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 cxli.
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 gittern, 59, 60, 68.
 gloit, 60, gloat, look tenderly.
 Goddeases and Nymphs, a device of,
 36, 71.
 godwitz, 8, godwits.
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 day, 68.
 Goldingham, master Henry, 31, 71.
 gorget, 37, narrow collar.
 Gorriere, la, a dance-figure, cxlii *note*.
 gracify, 61, adorn, act off, show off.
 gracified, 50, beautified.
 Grafton, 56.
 grauelled, 8, gravelled.
 green ginger, 70.
 Grees, 57, Greeee.

- 'Grevus ys my sorowe,' clvi.
 Greyhound and child, tale of the, lix.
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 gylmyrs, clxvi, ewes two years old.
 gyrings, 18, circlings.
- Hamadryades, 14.
 handkercher, 24, handkerchief.
 handkerchief, the Bridegroom's, 22.
 Harlaw, the Battle of, cliv.
 harp described, 66.
 harpsicalls, 67.
 harroing, 13, giving tonguc, a kind of barking.
 hart of fors, 16.
 hart hunted, 13, 16, 33.
 hascardy, 4, bad conduct.
 hautboiz, 7, hautboys.
 hearsheawz, 8, heronshaws, herons:
 Common Heron, *ardea cinerea*.
 hees, 52, males, men.
 heighes, 60, heigh-hos! sighs.
 hemistichi, 40, hemistich, half-versc, as a motto.
 Hengist and Horsa, 3.
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 hernshoe, 70, heronshaw, heron.
 herried, 41, cried?
 hewing, 13, shouting, calling.
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 hizzen, 15, his, his belongings.
 ho, 45, halt, stop.
 Hock Tuesday, the Play on, by the Coventry men, 26.
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 Holy-Rood day, 39, 74, Sept. 14.
Hombre Saluagio, the savage Man, 14.
 hoouge, 55, huge.
 hornspoons, 39.
 hornware, 40, things made of horn.
 hoves, Dutch, 61.
 Howard, Sir George, 59.
 Howleglas, xlviij.
 hukes, 41, 74, cloaks.
 Huna, 27.
 Hunnis, Master, 71.
- Huntis up, a tune and ballad, clxiii.
 Hunttis of Cheuet, clv.
 Huon of Burdeaus, the story of, xvii.
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 Husband out of doors, Tale of the, lix.
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- Iehington, Long, 5, 56.
 Iland, the happy, 19.
 imminens, 55, wondrous, great.
 Impacient Poverty, a play, cxxiv.
 'In a glorius garden grene,' clix.
 inch: 'wait at an inch,' close by, 59.
 incurvation, 66.
 inkorn, 22, 24, inkhorn.
 Irish-harp, 67.
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- Jason and the Golden Fleece, cxlviii.
 Jennen (Genoa), Frederyke of, xxv.
 jewels, sham, 51.
 John Armstrong's Dance, clxv.
 'jolly and dry,' 58, very thirsty.
 Jove, 47.
 iument, 25, stallion.
 iump, 55, exactly.
 Juno, 44.
 Jupiter and Io, the tale of, clxviii.
 Jupiter's welcome to Queen Elizabeth, 12; his care for her, 43.
- karuell, 13, a small undeckt ship.
 Kay, Sir, Seneschal of King Arthur, 42.
 kebbis, ewes whose lambs have died soon, clxvi.
 keepar, 37, brooch.
 kemb, 37, combed.
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- king's evil, nine persons cured of, by Queen Elizabeth, 35. See p. 71.
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- ku, 41, cue.
- laborers, 43.
- Lachesis, 47.
- Lady of the Lake, the, 6, 65.
- Laet of Antwerp, almanacks by, cxxxii.
- lampreys have no backbone, 20.
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- Lancelot du lac, cxliv.
- Lanham, Robert; his character, x, xi,—see the references there;—Leicester's kindness to, 57-8; is 'a Mercer, a Merchant,' 58; knows 'langagez,' 59.
- lanuginous, 56, covered with down or wool.
- Latimer on 'Pastime with good Company,' (Henry VIII's ballad) cl.
- launsknights, 31, lanzknechts.
- laymen's complaints of Prelates, lxx.
- leag, 34, liege.
- leamz, 12, lights, flames.
- Leander and Hero, the tail of the amours of, cxlvii.
- leather, 17, skin.
- Leicester, Earl of; his character, 47-8, 56-8.
- 'Leicester's Buildings' at Kenilworth, 75.
- lemmanz, 8, lemons.
- Leelye, Sir Walter, clxiv.
- 'Levis grene,' a tune, cl.
- Leycester, Sir Philip; his account of musical instruments in England in 1656 A.D., p. 65.
- Lichfield, 44.
- likesome, 56.
- Little John, lii.
- liuery, 58, allowance of food.
- lobster, 70.
- lokhole, 59, lockhole.
- London, a dinner in, in 1569, p. 69.
- London goods fashionable in the country, 28 *note*.
- loober woorta, 23, lubbers.
- Lord President's chamber, 58.
- Lucrea and Eurialus, xxxviii.
- Luna's gifts to Queen Elizabeth, 45.
- lute described, 66.
- Lydgate's Churl and the Burd, lvi.
- lythie, 19, lithe, bendable.
- lyuery, 8, in which the 'livery,' or allowance, was served.
- magnifyk, 55, magnificent.
- Maggie and the Merchant's Wife, Tale of the, lx.
- Mair, 28, Mayor.
- Malsore, Sir T., his conception (after his French originals) of Arthur, xvi.
- mallys, 17, malice.
- Mamzey, 61, Malmsey wine.
- Mandeville, the Marvels of, cxlv.
- manchet, 58, cake or loaf of fine bread.
- mannage, 57, perform caracoles, ride (for 'walk').
- Mantribil, the tayl of the Brig of, cxliii.
- Marchlond or Mercia, 3.
- marchpane, 70.
- marmalade, 70.
- Mars's present to Q. Elizabeth, 9, 44.
- Martial quoted, 57.
- mashez, 51, meshes.
- Maak not performed, 33.
- Mawdmarion, 23, Maid Marian.
- Mercury, 45.
- Mermaid, the swimming, 33.
- Midas and his ass's ears, cxlviii.
- Middleton, 44, 75.
- Millan, the seige of, cxliii.
- Millen cappes, 29 *note*.
- Millener, 29 *note*, dealer in Milan goods.
- minion, 22, clownish fellow.
- Minstrel, the Ancient, 36.
- minstrel of Middlesex, 38.
- Misterz —, 60, Mistress —, Lanham's love.
- moulding, 50.
- More, Sir Thomas; his 'Sergeaunt,' lxvi; his preface to the 'Booke of Fortune,' xcv.
- Morels skin, Wife lapt in a, lxx.
- moriadauns, 22, a morris dance.
- muffler used as a handkerchief, 22, 24.
- mullet, 8.
- Murderous Knight and his Wife, Tale of a, lxi.
- music on the water, 16.
- Muzik iz a noble Art! 35.
- Naiades, the, 40.
- napkin, 22, handkerchief, 24, 41.

- nees, 43, niece.
 Neptune, 45, 52.
 Neptune's presents to Queen Elizabeth, 9, 45.
 nippitate, 31, 69, a kind of strong ale.
 nobled, 58, made noble.
 nose-blowing, 24.
 Nosingham, 62, ? Nottingham parodied.
 Nostradamus, almanacks by, cxxxv.
 Nu Gize (or the new Guise), sketch of the play, cxxii.
 nuellries, 47, novelties.
 Nutbroun Maid, sketch of, lxxvi.
 nuze, 44, newa.
 nyez, 17, 68, eyes.
- 'O lusty maye, vitth Flora quenc,' cliv.
 obelisks, 49.
 obrayds, 17, upbraidings.
 occupied, 1, carried on.
 Og's bedstead, 56.
 oken, 14, of oak.
 Old wise man who bleeds his naughty wife, tale of the, lx.
 Olyver of the Castl, the story of, xxxvii, clxxvii.
 omberty, 30, shadowing, indication.
 one and onehood, 53.
 'one hart, one wey,' Bacon's motto, 54.
 oneself, writing about, xi.
 Opheua, kyng of Portingal, the tale of, cxlviii.
 oringes, 8, oranges.
 orpharion, 67.
 ouchez, 44, 29.
 overseen, 30, well-read.
 oversod, 39, over-boiled.
 overstrained, 51, strained, stretcht, over.
 Ovid quoted, 57.
 owches, 29, 44, ornaments.
- Pacification, the Edict of, 58, 76.
 pall, 5, cloak or mantle.
 pannell, 16. 'It is an English word, and signifieth a little Part; for a *Fane* is a part, and a *Pannel* a little part (as a *Pannel* of wainscot, a *Pannel* of a saddle, and a *Pannel* of a Parchment, wherein the Jurors names are written and annexed to the writ :) and a Jury is said to be im-pannelled when the Sheriff hath entred their names into the *Pannel*, or little piece of Parchment, in *Pannello assise*. Cook on Lit. Lib. 2. c. 2. Sect. 234.'" *The Law-French Dictionary* &c, 1701.
 pannell, 21, a substitute for a saddle; 40, 41, pack, kind of saddle. See last article.
 Paradise, the Kenilworth Garden worthy to be called, 53.
 Parcae, 46, the Fates.
 parcell, 23, partly.
 parklike, 63.
 pars, 61, parse.
 parson, 9, 34, person.
 parsonage, 14, appearance.
 pavvan, a dance, clxii. The Favan etc. are described in MS. Rawl. Poet. 103.
 peacock, 70.
 pears the first dish at dinner in 1569, p. 70.
 pecteaie, ? what bird, 70.
 penclark, 56, writer.
 Penda, King, 3, 65.
 penners, 29, pen-cases.
 Perseus and Andromeda, the tale of, cxli.
 Pharos, the Egiptian, 48.
 pheasant pout, 70.
 Phæbus, 44.
 Phæbus's presents to Q. Elizabeth, 9.
 pighte, 56, pitcht, set up.
 pikquarrels, 44, pickers of quarrels.
 pild, 39, ? spoilt, adulterated.
 Pinner, Master, one of Elizabeth's household, 59.
 Pirramus and Tesbe, the tayl of, cxlvii.
 Pius II, Pope, xxxviii, xli.
 plat, 55, plan, design.
 play acted before the Queen, 32.
 please, 10, pleasure.
 plover, right, and base, 70.
 Plutus's gifts to the Queen, 45.
 poezi, 5, bit of poetry.
 point, 21, end of a lace.
 pointed stones, 51.
 poking-stick, 73.
 Pollez, 61, St. Paul's school.
 Polyphemus's gifts to Q. Elizabeth, 46.
 pool of 111 acres of water, at Kenilworth Castle, 63.
 porphyry, aham, 50, 75.
 porpoise for dinner in 1569, p. 70 (see *Babees Book Index*).
 Porter, Lord Leicester's big one, 5.

- poungarnets, 8, pomegranates.
 poynets, 38, wrist-bands.
 Preschers against Plays, 27.
 prisar, 59, pryer.
 proez, 15, prose.
 proining, 51, preening.
 Protheus, 52.
 Protheus's gifts to Queen Elizabeth, 46.
 Proud Wives Paternoster, sketch of, cxiv.
 prunes at dinner, 70.
 psithyrista, the best, in England, 1656 A.D., p. 67 *note*.
 Psittyrne, the, 67.
 puks, French, 37 *note*.
 Pullison, Alderman, 61.
 purchaz, 32, gain, getting.
 putter, or putting stick, for ruffs, 73.
 puyt, 70, peaswit.
 puzels, 23, dsmels (ironically).
 pyept, 45, piped, drunk.
 pynz, 56, tent-pegs.
 pyrsmidally, 50.

 quarrelling, none at Kenilworth, 46.
 quest, 16, jury of twelve.
 quik, 16, alive.
 quintine, 21, 24, quintain.

 rabato, 73.
 Rabalais's Gargantua, li.
 ragged-staff, Leicester's badge, as a Warwick, 9, 52.
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, his pleasure-grounds, 49.
 Rauf collzear (or Ralph the Collier), cxliii.
 rayle, 70, rail, landrail, the bird, 70.
 receyt, 52, pool, basin.
 recorder, 9, a musical instrument, 66.
 red deer, 2, 70.
 redolent, 50, sweet-smelling.
 Reformation, the, crusht ballads in Scotland, clxvii.
 releef, 17, content, pleasure.
 releef, 57, pension?
 respiraunt, 50, fit for breathing.
 Reyde Eyttyn vith the thre heydis, the tayl of, cxl.
 Robene Hude, a dance-tune, clxiii.
 Robert le dyshil, duc of Normandie, cxxxviii.
 Robert, the Ryng of the Roy, cxlvi.
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 Robinson, Thomas, 67.
 rok, 47, 75, distaff.
 Roman, 10, Roman letters.
 Rome, the Seven Wise Masters of, lv.
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 Royn, ls; a dance-figure, clxii.
 ruffs, 72.
 Rumbelo fayr, clvi.
 Rush, Friar, the story of, clvii.
 rut, 31, time of heat or copulation.
 Ryens, King, of Northgalez, 42.

 sacietee, 33, satiety.
 sack and sugar, 61.
 sackbut described, 66.
 Saint Anthony's School, 61.
 Sak full of Nuez, lxvi.
 salmon, 70.
 salsipotent, 33, ruling the salt seas.
 Saturn's care for Queen Elizabeth, 63.
 Savage man, the, 46.
 scoolation, 22, schooling, teaching.
 Scotch Acts against pipers and minstrels, clxvii.
 Scotch editors of Ballads, clxxii.
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 Seauen Sororz of Wemen, cxiv.
 Seauen Wise Masters, lv.
 Securis, John, of Salisbury; almnaecks by, cxxxvi.
 sellars all caried vpon pillars, 63. 'A solar (Garret, or upper Room) *Sollarium, Sollarium.*' Law French Dict. 1701.
 'Set my hors vp too the rak, & then lets haue a cup of Sak,' 62.
 setting stick for ruffs, 73.
 Seventh of my God = Elizabeth, 43.
 shalm, 7, 9.
 shalme described, 66.
 shees, 53, females, women.
 Sheffield knives, 37, 38, 74.
 Shepherdz Kalender, lxxviii.
 Ship of Foolz (by Alexander Barklay, from Seb. Brandt's Latin), lxxxv.
 Shirburne Castle, Dorset, the pleasure-grounds at, 49.
 shoing-horn, shining as a, 38.
 shoouelarz, 8, shovellers. *Anas cly-*

- peata*: see *Babees Book*, p. 153, 214.
- shoveller, 70.
- Sibyl, a, 5.
- side, 10, long.
- side, 37, syde, 38, long and wide.
- Sidney, Lady, 59.
- sizely, 33, according to size.
- Skail Gillenderson, cxliii.
- skaled, 34, ran away, dispersed.
- Skelton's *Colyn Clout*, lxix; *Elynour Rummung*, lxxv.
- skiphis, 13, skiffs.
- Skogan's Jests, lxxvii.
- skratting, 17, scratching.
- skro, 11, 40, scroll.
- sleeked, 37, made sleek.
- smally, 33, little.
- Smith, Master, customer, 61.
- soil: take soil, take to the water, 13, 16.
- soily, 40.
- soll, 47, 48, soul.
- soomersants, 18, somersaults.
- soured, 12, surged.
- sospire, 60, sighs.
- Soutra, a dance-tune, clxiv.
- soyl, 33, water.
- spicecakes, 23.
- squib or squirt, 72.
- Squyre of Lo Degree, xxiii.
- Stafford, W.; his 'English Pollicye' quoted, 28, *note*.
- stag's ears cut off, 16.
- stampine, 70, ? what bird.
- Stanhope, Sir Thomas, 35.
- starching houses for ruffs, 72.
- steeuen, 41, voice.
- Steill, Deine David; his 'Reign of the Roy Robert,' cxlvi.
- stent, ? what bird, 70.
- stetting-stiek, 37, *and note*. But see 73.
- 'Stil vndir the leyuis grene' or The Murning Maidin, cl.
- stockard, 70, ? what bird.
- stonetiuet, the bird, 70.
- stour, 42, stour, battle.
- story-books, lists of, xii, xiv.
- strawberries, 53, 75.
- strawn, 22, made of straw.
- stringed musical instruments in England, 1636 A.D., p. 66.
- Stubbes on bear-baiting, 18; football, 22; ruffs.
- sturgeon, 52. See *Babees Book*, p. 238.
- sturgeon for dinner, 70.
- sucket, 23, 70, sweetmeat.
- sugar plate, 70.
- Sunday amusements at Kenilworth, 12.
- Sunday dancing, 12, 68.
- supportasse, 73.
- surfit, 59, surfeited.
- swymd, 34, swam.
- Sylvanus's present to Queen Elizabeth, 8, 46.
- Sylvanus, 74.
- syluerd, 8, silvered.
- symmetrically, 50.
- Systirs, the thre veird, the tail of, cxlviii.
- tabld stones, 51.
- tag and rag, 25.
- Tamlene, yong, and the bald Braband, the tale of the, cxlv.
- Tanterveale, 70, ? what bird.
- taperwise, 6.
- tarts, 70.
- teal, 70.
- temperd, 41, tuned.
- tenny, 39, tawny.
- Tennyson's conception of Arthur, xvi.
- tent, the large one for Queen Elizabeth, 5 *note*, 56.
- Terence quoted, 57, 61.
- terrace at Kenilworth, 48, 75.
- Thalia, 46.
- 'That day, that day, that gentil day,' clix.
- 'The murning Maidin,' a poem, cl.
- 'The Perssee and the Mongumrye met,' clviii.
- theorbo, 66.
- Thetis, 52.
- Thom of Lyn, a dance-tune, cxiv.
- Thorogood, Master, 62.
- thread-making, 28 *note*.
- three, on, 54.
- thre-futtit dog of Norrouay, the tale of, cxlii.
- threedden, 38, made of thread.
- tine, 9, short priek or prong.
- titubate, 24, stumble.
- ton, 13, one; 32, the one.
- tonster, 37, clipt round.
- tousword, 29, 31.
- tooz, 54, twos.
- trade, 61, dealing, course of life.
- traded, 61, carried-on.
- transom, 50.

- trauera, 17, traverse, answer by denial.
 treen, 24, of tree or wood.
 Tresham, Sir Thomas, 35.
 tridental, 52, three-toothed or
 -pronged.
 trink, 37, trick, fashion.
 Triton, 33, 52.
 truelove, 38, truelover's knot, like a
 quatrefoil.
 trumpeters, Leicester's, 6.
 trust, 21, fastened.
 Tryamour, Syr, the story of, xxix.
 turbot, 70.
 turdion, a dance, clxii-iii.
 turkicock, 70.
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 two o'clock, the hands of the Kenil-
 worth dials always pointed to, 55.
 twynkling, 61, tinkling?
 Tylyard at Kenilworth, 5, 20.
 Tynt, the tail of the pure, cxliv.

 underspringing, 53.
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 low Degree, xxiii.
 Ungrateful Widow, Tale of the, lxii.
 vplondiah, 46, far from London.

 venison (dead fallow deer), WARRANTA
 for, 70.
 Venetian sleeves, 10.
 Venua, 44.
 viole, 67.
 violin, 67.
 violl, 9, viol.
 Virgil quoted, 58, 61.
 Virgil's Life (the magician's), xli.
 Virgilius and his Imagea, Tale of, lxi.
 virginale, 60.
 Volfe (or Well) of the Varldis End,
 cxl.
 Volunteers, Rifle, clxxiii.
 Vulcan, 44, 52.
 vycs, 55, 76, pale blue.

 Wager, W.; extract on ballads from
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 Wallace, the poem of, cxli.
 wardens (a kind of apple) stewed, 70.

 Warren and De Tabley, Lord, 65.
 Warwick, badge of the Earls of, 49.
 Warwick, the town, 2.
 Warwick, musters of, in 1574-5, p. 69.
 waatell, 42, fine bread.
 Watson, Henry; his englished 'Ship
 of Fools,' lxxxv, xci.
 wealka, 52, whelka. (See *Babees Book*
 index.)
 weather (wether), the big, to be shown
 to the Queen, 56.
 Wedgenall, 36, Wedgnock Park.
 Welsh-harp, 67.
 whirlpoolz, 52, ? the *balena* of "The
 Noble Lyfe," *Babees Book*, p. 232.
 That it was a sort of whale, see
 'Tinet: m. The Whall tearmed a
 Horlepoole or Whirlepoole. Cot-
 grave,' cited in *B. B.* index, p. 129.
 'The Whirle poole, a sea monster;
*Sedenette, phyeterre, horepole, mu-
 lasse, tinet; Un pesce mostroao
 del mare; Pece monstroso marino.*
 Howel.
 Wieland's Oberon, xvii.
 Wife lapt in a Morel's Skin, lxiv.
 wigeon, 70.
 wight, 22, quick, active.
 William of Malmesbury, 61.
 wine, spiced, 70.
 wizehardy, 44, the opposite of fool-
 hardy, wisely brave.
 Women, the Seven Sorrows of, cxiv.
 woorship, 36, honour.
 Worcester, 44.
 Worceter, 62, Worcester.
 -worth, the meaning of, 4.
 wreast, 38, 41, tuning hammer.
 wreast, 53, twiat, turn.
 wyndlease, 53, 55, 75, driving of deer,
 excursua, digression.
 Wynkyn de Worde on *La Morte
 Darthur*, xvi.
 wype, 70, lapwing.

 yeald, 49, yelled.
 Yooth and Charitee, sketch of, cxviii.
 yorne, 68, whine.
 Ypoeras and Galienus, lxi.
 Ypomodon, the romance of, cxlii.

Love-Poems and Humourous Ones.

WRITTEN AT THE END OF A VOLUME OF SMALL PRINTED BOOKS,
A.D. 1614-1619, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, LABELLED

“Various Poems,”

AND MARKT $\frac{\text{C. 39. a.}}{1-5}$.

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NOTICE.

My friend Professor Wagner, having told me that he had found an edition of *Alcilia* dated 1597 in the Public Library at Hamburg, I found that this edition was unknown to English bibliographers, and I therefore urged him to reprint and edit it. He is now doing so for the Annals of the German Shakspeare Society in 1875, as the Poem contains some lines like certain ones in the *Merchant of Venice*.

On looking at the later editions of *Alcilia*, to find whether they all professt (as they do) to be by J. C.—supposed by Collier and Corser to be John Chalkhill—instead of the J. G. who the first edition says was its author, I notist some MS. Poems at the end of the little volume “Various Poems,” of which the British-Museum 1619 copy of *Alcilia* forms part. These poems seemd to me to have merit enough to deserve reprinting by the Ballad Society. So I copi’d them, and here they are. Many of them have, no doubt, been printed before,¹ like 1 and 4. On 15*a*, p. 20, Mr. Halliwell says, “Can these lines, or something like ’em, have been in Shakspeare’s thoughts when writing *Othello II.* i. 130-162: ‘How if fair and foolish,’ etc.”

3, ST. GEORGE’S SQUARE, PRIMROSE HILL, N.W.
16th Nov. 1874.

¹ Our member Mr. Ebsworth, of Molash Vicarage, has been good enough to note that the following are printed, all with large variations:—No. 1, in the *Academy of Compliments*, ed. 1670, p. 196; No. 4, in *Westminster Drollery*, 1672, part ii. p. 74 (but Mr. E. has traced the poem back to 1656); No. 5, in *Wit and Drollery*, 1661, p. 34, with an additional (2nd) verse, not given on p. 9:

“My beauty which is none,
Yet such as you protest,
Doth make you sigh and groan:
Fie, fie, you do but jest.”

No. 14, in the *Pepys Collection of Ballads*, vol. i. p. 406, entitled “The Cuckow’s Commendation: A Merry Maying Song in praise of the Cuckow.” Tune, “The Buttoned Smock,” for which see Chappell, *Pop. Mus.* i. 774-5; No. 21, in *Wit Restored*, 1658 (p. 198 of reprint); No. 22 (much altered), in *Wit Rest.* p. 204, reprint; No. 30, in *Wits Interpreter*, 1655; 1671, p. 279; No. 32, in *Wits Interp.* 1655, p. 115; 1671, p. 222; and *Wits Recreations*, 1640, No. 104; No. 33 in *Wits Interp.* 1655, p. 115; 1671, p. 222; No. 34 in Thomas Carew’s *Works* (Roxh. Lih. 1870), p. 12, as “Secresie protested.” Mr. Hazlitt notes that it (34) is in Lawes’s *Ayres and Dialogues*, 1655, p. 39 (with the music for one, two, or three voices); Cotgrave’s *Wits Interpreter*, 1655, p. 27; 1671, p. 133 (with many variations); Ashmole MS. 38, art. 32, where the title is as follows: . . . “A gentle man that had a M^{ris}. and after was constrained to marry a nother; the first was a frayd that hee would reveale to his new wyfe thair secreet loves; wheruppon hee wrights thus to hur.” No. 34 is also in *Wits Recreation*, p. 21, reprint 1873. No. 26 Mr. Ebsworth has seen in print.

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MS. Love-Poems and Humourous Ones,

FROM THE END OF

“Various Poems,” C. 39. a.
1-5.

IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

[1. WHO IS TO MARRY ME?]

[These words are set to music in *Ayres* by *Alfonso Ferrabosco*, folio 1609.—W.C.]

- | | | | |
|----|--|--------------|----------|
| 1. | Younge and simple though I am,
I haue hearde of Cupids name;
Guesse I can, what thinge it is,
Men desire when they doe kisse.
Smoake can neuer burne, they say;
But the flame that followes, may. | [leaf 1.] | 6 |
| 2. | I am not so foule or fayre,
To be proude, or to dispaire;
Yet my lipps haue oft obsaru'd,
Men that kisse them, presse them harde,
As glad louers vse to doe
When there newe-mett loues they woe. | | 10
12 |
| 3. | Faithe, 'tis but a foolishe minde;
Yet, me thinkes, a heate I finde,
Like thirstē longinge, that doeth bide
Euer on my weaker side,
Where they say our harte doeth moue:
Venus grante it be not loue! | | 16
18 |
| 4. | If it be, allasse, what then?
Were not woemen made for men?
As good it is, a thinge were past,
That must needes be done at last:
Roses that are ouergrowne,
Growe lesse sweete, and fall allonc. | [leaf 1 bk.] | 22
24 |

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4 p.

5. Yet noe churle nor silken gull
 Shall my mayden blossome pull :
 Whoe shall not, I soone can tell :
 Whoe shall, I woulde I knewe as well. 28
 This I knowe, whoe ere he be,
 Loue he must, or flatter, me. 30
6. Married wyues may take and leaue ;
 Where they please, refuse, receaue ;
 Wee poore maydes must not doe soe ;
 Wee must answer yea with noe ; 34
 Wee seeme strangē, coye, and curste,
 And faine wee would doe, if wee durst. 36

2. [THE WILLING MIDA.]

1. Mida, the glory of whose bewties rayse¹
 Gain'd heauens high wounder, and earthes best praise,
 She, Thirsis met, both faire and louely too ;
 He likt hir well, but knewe not howe to woe. 4
2. They, arme in arme, into the garden walked,
 Where endelesse riddles all the day they taulked ;
 Hir speech and motion wisely had an ende,
 Yet knewe he not whereto they did attende.² 8
3. She, greiued to see his youth noe better taught, [leaf 2.]
 To gather him a posy he hir besaught :
 With that, hir light saye gowne she then vpp tuckt,
 And "May" for him, and "Tyme" for hir, she pluckt. 12
4. Which, when she brought, he took hir by the middle,
 And kist her oft, but could not reade the riddle :³
 "Oh, foole!" quothe shee, and so burst into laughter,
 Blusht, rann away, and scorn'd him euer after. 16

¹ rays.

² MS. repeats lines 7 and 8 at the top of leaf 2.

³ For a ballad of which this riddle is the theme, see *Roxburghe Ballads*, vol. ii. part i. pp. 41-48.

3. [THE MAN WHO CAN'T FIND A SWEETHEART.]

1. I made a Couenant with my harte,
That it and I would neuer parte
'Till I did giue it to some one
Where it might euer liue allone. 4
2. With that a seeminge Cittie face
Me thought did promise such a grace;
But all was taken vpp before,
And "prentice" writt vppon the dore. 8
3. And then I sought a ladies brest,
Voyde, as she sayde, of any gieste; [leaf 2 bk.]
But in hir harte was diuerse roomes,
For lordes, for knights, for pages, groomes. 12
4. But then a comely countrey mayde
Harbourd my harte, and there it stayde;
But yet bifore the moone grewe ould,
She for a toye hirselle had soulede. 16
5. When it had trauild all about,
And could not finde one constant out,
Wearie with labour and with scorne,
Home it retourn'd, where it was borne. 20

4. [A HUMOUROUS LOVER'S APPEAL TO HIS MISTRESS.]

[In print elsewhere.—W.C.]

1. O loue, whose power and mighte
None euer yet withstoode,
Thou makest me to write :—
Come, turne about, Robbin-Hoode. 4
2. Sole mistresse of my rest,
Let me thus farr presume
To make this bould request—
A blacke patch for the rhowme. 8

3. Your tresses finely wrought, [leaf 3.]
 Like to a goulden snare,
 My louinge harte has caught—
 As Mosse did catch his mare.¹ 12
4. Your eyes, like starrs diuine,
 Make me renewe this arrant,
 In silent speeches mine,—
 A buttocke or a warrant. 16
5. O woemen! will you neuer
 But thinke that I doe flatter?
 I vowe I loue you euer,—
 But it is noe great matter. 20
6. What is't I would not doe
 To purchase one good smile?
 Bid me to Chyna goe—
 And Ile stand still the while. 24
7. I knowe that I shall die,
 Loue so my harte bewitches;
 It makes me howle and crye,—
 Oh howe my elbowe itches. 28
8. Teares ouerflowe my sight [leaf 3 bk.]
 With waues of dayly weepinge,
 That in the carefull night,—
 I take noe rest for sleepinge. 32
9. Cupid, men say, is blinde;
 And yet, me thinkes, he seeth;
 He hit my harte to daye,—
 A turde in Cupids teeth! 36

¹ "To take one napping, as *Mosse* tooke his mare." Who *Mosse* was, historians have not recorded; but it is plain enough, from the drift of the saying, that he took his mare when asleep, because she was too cunning or too nimble for him when awake.

"Say, on a tree she may see her Tom rid from all care,

Where she may *taks him napping*, as *Mosse* took his mare."

—Ballet of Shepherd Tom, *Wit Restored*, p. 207, reprint. . . .

We have one authority for its being a gray mare:

"Till daye come catch him, as *Mosse* his gray mare, napping."

—Christmas Prince, p. 40.—Nares.

10. My mistresse, she is fayre;
But yet hir late disgraces
Haue made me to dispayre,—
A poxe of all good faces! 40
11. But since my simple merrits
Hir louinge lookes must lacke,
Come, stopp my vitall spiritts—
With clarret wine and sacke. 44
12. Regarde my strange mishapps,
Joue, father of the thunder,
Sende downe the thunder clapps!—
And rende hir smocke in sunder! 48

5. THE ANSWER.

[leaf 4.]

1. Your letters I receaued,
Bedeckt with flourishinge quarters,
But yet I am deceaued,—
Goe hange your selfe in your garters. 4
2. I cannot chuse but pittie
Your restlesse mourninge teares;—
Because your plaintes are wittie,
You may goe shake your eares. 8
3. To purchase your delight,
Noe labour will I leese;
Your paines I will requite,—
With a nogg¹ of breade and cheese. 12
4. 'Tis you I fayne would see,
'Tis you I onely thinke on;
My lookes as kinde shall be—
As the deuils ouer Lincon. 16
5. If euer I retourne;
Great Queene of lightninge flashes,
Sende downe thy fyer, and burne,—
His codpeice into ashes. 20

¹ hunch. "A sort of strong ale."—*Halliwell's Glossary*. Rather, a pot (of ale), *noggin* being "a mug or pot of earth, with a large belly & narrower mouth."

6. I can by noe meanes misse thee, [leaf 4 bk.]
 But I must haue thee one daye :
 Sweete harte, come and kisse me—
 Where I did sitt on Sunday.¹ 24

6. [THE LEXO, LEXO, LO.]

1. When I in youth was ripe,
 I fondely fell in loue ;
 I exercised my pipe,
 My only deare to moue ; 4
 But my sweete harte, of musickes arte
 Made me so carelesse growe,
 That I from me flunge my pipe that sunge
 The Lexo, Lexo, lo. 8
2. My pipe that was composd
 Of fortie reades in one,
 Belowe with horne inclosd,
 And tipt aboue with bone ; 12
 Of stopps it bore, haulfe siluerd ore,
 An hundred² high and lowe,
 Whereon I playde, such songes I made,
 With lexo, lexo, lo. 16
3. It was not made by Pan,
 Nor Dedalus could doe it,
 But of some dieinge swann, [leaf 5.]
 By Hermes turn'd into it ; 20
 And Phebus fayre vouchsaft to spare,
 From his owne harpe thereto,
 Some secret lyfe, whereby my phife
 Cries lexo, lexo, lo. 24
4. Now my deceaued sheepe,
 Through sorrowe pine and rott,
 And sheppards dull nowe sleepe,
 That while I pipe, could not ; 28

¹ Compare "As I was ridinge by the way" in *Percy Folio Loose and Humorous Songs*, p. 30, l. 32.

² MS. And hudred.

- The nimphes appeare not, nowe they heare not
Me my whistle blowe,
And satirs doe not daunce vnto
My lexo, lexo, lo. 32
5. The nightingall that ofte
My pipe hir sister thought,
Skornes nowe my wonted crofte,
And will noe more be cought. 36
In vaine I sett my daiely nett,
Poore larkes to catch, that knowe
My skille is deade, and o're my heade
Sings lexo, lexo, lo. 40
6. But that which greiues me most,
Whome most I did adore,
Is nowe, my lexo lost, [leaf 5 bk.] 44
Lesse kinder than before.
Whie should not she, to pittie me,
Hir creweltie forgoe?
For hir allone haue I forgonn
My lexo, lexo, lo. 48
7. [A LOVER'S REPROACH TO HIS INCONSTANT LOVE.]
1. Goe thy waies, since needes thou wilt goe;
Doe not stay to answer noe.
Like thy selfe thy vowes are true,
Euer changege ould for newe. 4
Since thou hast bine false to many,
Be not constant, 2. be not constant, vnto any. 6
2. To the woods Ile take my flight:
There is harmelesse chast delight;
There I neade not hope, or feare;
There I will all loue forswear; 10
And, as thou fled'st me before,
So I'le flye ther, 2. so i'le flie ther, euer more. 12
3. Nowe, when all thy change is spente,
If thy false harte chaunce relente,

- Or reuert thy fowle disdain
 To intreat me turne againe, 16
 Thou shalt heare me thus replie : [leaf 6.]
 " Oh, I dare not, 2. Oh, I dare not, least I die." 18
4. Yet I will not curse those eyes
 Where thy witchinge bewtie lies ;
 Or desire that forme defaced,
 Where so vile a minde is placed : 22
 With thy bewtie fewe dare striue ;
 With thy falsehood, 2. with thy falsehood, none aliuie. 24
5. Liue thou still, pride of the Cittie,
 Voyde of loue as voyde of pittie ;
 Be not tied to towe or three ;
 There is chaunge enough for thee ; 28
 And, when thou art out of date,
 Then repent thee, 2. then repente thee, to too late. 30

8. [AMINTAS AND PHILLIS.]

1. In a gloomie and close shade,
 Which still deuoureth humane breath,
 There was poore Amintas layde,
 Bewaylinge his sweete Phillis deathe, 4
 That lyinge eccho sent him sone
 To ioyne hir sorrowes to his mone. 6
2. Rounde aboute stode gazingely
 His tender flocke all mourninge ;
 The birdes ceast their mellodie, [leaf 6 bk.]
 Him silent woes retourninge : 10
 Yet at length, to vent his paine,
 Greife made him speake, and thus complaine : 12
3. " Whie, o whie, was bewtie made,
 A flower so full of excellence,
 To be presently decayde,
 Ere it be subiect to the sense ? 16
 Or, allas, she was to faire,
 She might not be where mortalls are. 18

4. "But, since she is gon before,
Which was my lifes ioye and delight,
I will soone vnlocke the dore
That barrs me from my Phillis sight." 22
This sayed, with a fatall knife
Amyntas ends Amyntas life. 24
5. Downe he goes to Charons shore,
Whoe, pittyinge his dolefull state,
Past awaie with sayle and oare,
And shewed him where his Phillis sate, 28
Where they, beinge mett againe,
In sweete Elizium end their paine. 30

9. [EYES AND LIPS.]

[leaf 7.]

1. O heuens, and doe I see
A longe absented sunn?
That sunn that sett to me,
Brought night ere daye was done. 4
And doe I see those eyes,
Those eyes of heauenly birthe;
Those starrs shott from the skies
To make our heauen on earthe? 8
2. Are theese the eyes, are theese
The lipps; when as awaie
I needes must goe, to please,
Makes me, in goinge, staye? 12
These are such eyes, lipps, hands:
Why doe I spare to kisse?
Loue in amazement standes
To see this wourlde of blisse. 16
3. Deare lipps, first I'le kisse you,
The most invitinge sweete;
The bankuett, heauen allowes,
When chaste affections meete; 20
Then let me see and die,
And surfett of delight,
Rather then pininge lye,
In hope of better sight. 24

4. Eyes, I would kisse you too, [leaf 7 bk.]
 Would not to neare a close
 Make me forgoe the sight
 Of bewties chiefe repose; 28
 Allas, if wee kisse them,
 Your face wee cannot see,
 Or else in kissing them,
 Our lips must parted be. 32
5. Noe ioy's on earthe compleate;
 But; deare, since thou art here,
 Noe ioye can be so great
 As to inioye my deare. 36
 Then, absence, shewe thy spight!
 Thou maist vse power or arte
 To kepe hir from my sight,
 But neuer from my harte. 40

10. ["I AM NOT PREPAR'D TO DIE."]¹

1. When Phebus addrest his course to the west,
 To take vpp his rest belowe,
 Then Cynthia agreed, in hir glittering weade,
 Hir light in his steade to bestowe. 4
 I trauild allone, attended with none,
 Till suddenly one did crye,
 "Oh, doe not, doe not, kill me yet,
 For I am not prepared to die." [leaf 8.]
8
2. With that I drewe neare, to see and to heare,
 For then did appeare the showe:
 The moone was so light, That I sawe such a sight
 As fitts not each one for to knowe: 12
 A man and a mayde, to-gether was layde,
 And euer she cryed "nay, fie!
 Oh, doe not, doe not, kill me yet,
 For I am not prepared to die." 16

¹ See the differing copy in *The Percy Folio Loose and Humourous Songs*, pp. 7, 8, and Mr. Wm. Chappell's note on it there.

3. The youthe was so ruffe, that he toke vpp hir stuffe,
 And to blinde-man-buffe he would goe;
 Though she cryed "fye! fye!" yet still she did lye,
 And put him but by with "noe:" 20
 For she was so younge, and he was [so] stronge,
 She rested not longe to crye,
 "Oh, doe not, doe not, kill me yet,
 For I am not præpared to die." 24
4. Thus striuinge in vaine, well pleasèd with paine,
 She vowed to remaine his foe,
 For he kept such a quoile, when he gaue her the foyle,
 That greater the broyle did growe. 28
 He was so prepar'd, he did not regarde
 Hir wordes when he hearde her crye,
 "Oh, doe not, doe not, kill me yet, [leaf 8 bk.]
 For I am not præpared to die." 32
5. He saied to this mayde, "be not affrayde;
 Thy phisition I will be;
 An' I finde but the place, I'le handle the case,
 And giue thee thy phisicke free." 36
 He went too't againe, and founde out the vaine
 Where as hir paine did lye;
 "Oh, kill me, kill me," then she saied,
 "For nowe I am præpared to die." 40
6. With that he gaue ore, and sollemly swore,
 He would kill hir noe more that night.
 Full litle he knewe, when he had hir viewe,
 She would tempt him to newe delight. 44
 But when he should parte, it wente to hir harte,
 And taught hir more arte to crye,
 "Oh, kill me, kill me, once againe,¹
 For nowe I am præpared to die." 48

¹ Compare the Scotch lassie's words to "The Tailor" in Herd's *Scottish Songs*, ii. 148, ed. 1869:

"Gie me my maidenhead agen!" . . .
 "O, what way wad ye hae 't agen?" . . .
 "Oh! just the way that it was taen,
 Daffin down, and daffin down." . . .

11. [A LOVER'S DIRECTIONS.]

Come, pretty one, shall I loue thee ?	
Saie, litle one, shall I proue thee ?	
Gentely mouinge, be not crewell !	[leaf 9.]
Wische louingly, oh my iewel !	4
Taulke coyely, moue affection !	
Toye prettiely, cause erection !	
Looke meriely while I woe thee !	
Blushe cherefully whilst I doe thee !	8
Looke prettiely ! oh, that's meetest !	
Doe feeleingly ! oh, that's sweetest !	
Fall willingly, and lie flatly !	
Keepe close to me, whilst thou ar't at me !	12
Moue sprightfully, and lie pantinge !	
Shewe rightely nothings be wantinge !	
Speake fayntely ; fayrely languishe !	
Die dainetely in sweete angwishe !	16
Sweare euermore, I shall woe thee !	
And euermore, plucke me to thee !	18

12. [DON'T THINK YOU'RE TOO YOUNG.]

Deare, doe not your faire bewtie wronge,	
In thinkinge still you are to younge ;	
The rose and lillies in your cheekes	
Flourishe, and noe more ripening seekes ;	4
The flaminge beames shott from your eye	
Doe shewe loues midsomer is nighe :	
Your cherry lipp, redd, softe, and sweete,	[leaf 9 bk.]
Proclaimes such fruite for taste is meete.	8
Loue is still younge, a bucksume boye,	
And youngelinges are allowed to toy.	
Then loose noe time, for loue hath winges,	
And flies awaie from aged thinges.	12

13. [SO SWEET IS SHE !]

Haue you seene the white lilly growe	
Before rude handes haue toucht it ?	
Haue you mark't the fall of snowe	
Before the earth hath smutcht it ?	4

Haue you felt the woll of beauer,
 Or the swanns downe either !
 Or haue you smelt the budd of bryer,
 Or the narde in the fier ? 8
 Or haue tasted the bagg of the bee ?
 Oh so white, oh so softe, oh so sweete, so sweete,
 So sweete is shee ! 10

Haue you seene the faire christall rocke
 When a gentle dewe hath dasht it ?
 Or Auroraes goulden locke
 When a morninge maye hath washt it ? 14
 Or did you euer softly steale
 To heare poore Philomel ? [leaf 10.]
 Or haue you smelt to the breath of fishes,
 Or the Nunn when she kisses ? 18
 Or haue seene the blossomes of the tree ?
 Oh so cleare, oh so bright, oh so faire, so sweete,
 So sweete is she ! 20

[Verse 1 is v. 3 of Ben Jonson's 'IV. Her Triumph,' in 'A Celebration of Charis.']

14. [THE CUCKOO.]

1. Of all the birdes that range the woodes,
 The valleyes and the plaines,
 I like the Cuckoes pleasant tunes,
 Though some his notes disdaines ; 4
 For all the fragrant season
 He cherefully doeth singe,
 And with his double ditties
 The hills and valleyes ringe. 8
2. The earthe, to entertaine him,
 Puts on his best arraye,
 The loftie trees and lowely shrubbs
 Likewise are fresh and gaye ; 12
 The birdes, to bidd him welcome,
 Doe warble pleasant notes ;
 The beaste, the feilde, the forrest,
 Cast off their winter coates. 16

3. The Doctor, when he heares him,
 His vrinall downe throwes,
 And sees his patient with his wife,
 A trussinge vpp his hose. 20
 Whilest he doeth make his purge,
 He thinkes him ill bestedd ;
 The singinge of the cuckowe
 Doth so torment his heade. 24
4. The Lawyer, when he heares him,
 His veluet capp off flurrs,
 And thinkes, whilest hee's at Westminster,
 An other case demurrs, 28
 Least that a younger student
 At home should gett his place,
 And haue the free sollicitinge
 Of his owne propper case.¹ 32
5. The parson of the parishe,
 That learninge hath, and witt,
 He doeth not feare his louinge wife
 Whilst hee's at holy writt ; 36
 And yet it oftimes fortunes,
 Though he be graue and wyse,
 A man of lesser learning,
 His wyfe may chatechise. 40
6. The silken suited citizen, (leaf 11.)
 That lets his program spouse²
 Goe reuell with good companie
 Whilest he doeth keepe the house ; 44
 An other lets a garden,
 The which, in pleasant weather,
 My mistresse goes a walkinge to,
 Hir prentize bringes hir theither ; 48

¹ *Case* has often the meaning of *vulva* in the Elizabethan dramatists, and in Shakspeare more than once. *Merry Wives*, IV. i. 64, etc. (Staunton).

² Compare Lazarillo's advice to the City matrons in Middleton's play of *Blurt, Master-Constable*, Works, ed. Dyce, i. 276-282.

7. And yet it oftentimes fortunes,
 As they goe on their waye,
 They fall into a vaultinge schoole,
 And there a while doe staye. 52
 And if that such a citizen
 Should heare the cuckowe sounde,
 He doeth not feare;—his prentize,
 From venery is bounde;— 56
8. But keepe his shopp so pickedly,
 And casteth vpp his booke,
 Whilist the prentize and my mistresse
 Are doeinge—what?—goe looke! 60
 Yea, there are knights and gentlemen,
 And gallants that are stouthe,
 That lets their wyues haue coaches,
 To whirle the streates about: 64
9. None other but an vsher, [leaf 11 bk.]
 A coachman and a page,
 When they doe heare the cuckowe,
 Doe neither frowne nor rage; 68
 But when the lady listeth,
 The coachman must stande still;
 The page is so imployed
 To doe hir worships will. 72
10. The nimble fingerd barber
 That to your chamber comes
 To washe your heade and trim your bearde
 With water and sweet perfumes: 76
 The while that hee's from home,
 His wyfe a freinde may finde,
 With balls and casting bottles,
 For to content hir minde. 80
11. The smithe that [at] his anvill
 The iron harde doth dinge,
 He doeth not heare the cuckowe,
 Though he aloude doeth singe. 84
 Although that he doeth worke
 And labour till he sweate,
 An other, in his forge at home,
 May strike a priuate heate. 88

Miscellanea.

[leaf 12.]

15. [*a.* CONTRASTS.][“Ancient Rimes” in W. Vaughan’s *Directions for Health*, 5th edit. 1617.—W.C.]

Faire and foolishe, litle and lowde,
 Longe and lazie, blacke and prowde,
 Fatt and merrie, leane and sadd,
 Pale and pettische, redd and badd. 4

[*b.* ADVICE.]

To a redd man, reade thy reade ;
 With a browne man, breake thy breade.
 At a pale man, drawe thy knife ;
 From a blacke man, keepe thy wyfe. 4

16. VPPON THE LYE GIUEN HIM BY HIS MISTRESSE.

You saie, I lie. I thinke, you lie : iudge whether.
 If wee lie both ; then let ’s lie both together. 2

17. [DOCTOR BARFILDE.]

Doctor Barfilde, to ende all iarrs and strife,
 Ridinge before, turn’d backe to kisse his wife.
 Was not the Doctor then exceedinge kinde,
 To ride before, and kisse his wyfe behinde ? 4

18. [MONSIEUR CARR.]

[Probably upon Carr, Earl of Somerset.—W.C. See Mr. Morfill’s volume.]

I C V R [=I see you are,]
 Good mounsier Carr, about to fall.
 V R A K¹ [=You are a knave,]
 As most men say ; but thats not all. 4
 V O Q P [=You occupy (?)]
 With your anullitie, that naughtie packe.
 S X Y F, [=So ax your wife (?)]
 Whose wicked life, hath broke your backe. 8

¹ One of the Catches in John Hilton’s “*Catch that catch can*” is “I C U B A K” = “I see you be a knave.”—W.C.

19. [A RIDDLE : THREADING THE NEEDLE.]

Thus my riddle doeth begine ;
 A mayde would haue a thinge put in,
 And with hir hand she brought it to ;
 It was so meeke, it would not doe : 4
 And at the length she vsed it soe,
 That to the hole she made it goe.
 When it had done as she could wishe,
 "Ah, ha !" quoth she, "I'me glad of this !" 8
 A mayde wente to thridd a nedle.

20. [THE MIRACULOUS LAWYER.]

Here lies a myracle ; deny it whoe can :
 He liued a Lawyer, and an honest man !¹ 2

21. [THE OPEN CABINET.]

A virtuouse Ladie sittinge in a muse, [leaf 13.]
 As oftentimes faire virtuouse ladies vse,
 Did leane hir elbowes on hir knees full harde,
 Each distant from the other haulfe a yarde. 4
 Hir Knight, to checke hir by some priuie token,
 Sayed "Wyfe, awake ! your cabbinet is open !"
 She rose, and blusht, and smilde, and soft did saye,
 "Then locke it, if you please ; you keepe the kaye." 8

22. [NIGHT AND MORNING TOO.]

A wanton wench, beinge newly wedd
 Vnto the pleasures of a married bedd,
 Askt the phisition ' which he thought most right
 For Venus sportes, the morninge or the nighte.' 4
 He answered hir as hee did deeme most meete :
 "The morne more wholesome ; but the night more
 sweete."
 "Nay then," quoth shee, "sith we haue time and leasure,
 Wee'le too't each morne for health, each night for
 pleasure." 8

¹ Sir John Harington has an epigram like this.

23. [FACES AND COOKING-PLACES.]

As woemen haue faces to sett men on fier,
So likewise they haue places, to cook their desier. 2

24. ["THERE IS BUT ONE."] [leaf 13 bk.]

There is but one, and only one, that only loueth thee;
And that same one, and only one, is noe but only mee.
It is but one, and I am only he,
That loues but one, and you ar only she. 4

25. [DICK STAR AND CIS MOON.]

Dick starr and Cis moone together ar wedd:
Nowe he that can finde them together in bedd,
Shall see a great wounder: for whie? very soone
Dick starr will be turn'd to the man in the moone. 4

26. [THE PURITAN GIRL, AND HER PREACHER.¹]

A puritane, with one of hir societie
Beinge got with childe, did pray with passinge pietie,
That, sith a learned man had ouer reacht hir,
The childe which he had got, might proue a precher. 4
The time beinge come, and all the paine beinge past,
She askt the midwife what god sent a[t] last.
With that, the midwife burstinge into laughter,
Sayed "the childe borne was proued a daughter: 8
But rest content! if God so blesse the babie,
She hath a pulpit where a precher may be." 10

27. [THE MAID OF HONOUR.]

Here lies intomb'd—the Lord haue mercy on hir!—
One of the Queenes Maydes of Honour.
She was both faire, [and] wyse, and wittie;
She died a mayde: the more's the pittie! 4

¹ Compare "Off a Puritane" in the *Percy Folio Loose and Humourous Songs*.

28. [THE TWO-STONE DAME.]

Here lies faire Penelope, or my Lady Rich,
 Or the Countesse of Devonshire: I knowe not which.
 One stone containes hir nowe,—this, Death can doe,—
 Whoe, in hir life was not content with twoe. 4

29. [HUGH AP REES.]

Hugh vp Reese was build a College.
 To Jhesu cr'ees, for all Welch geese
 That weare white freese, and breede white leese (p lice)
 And eat toast cheese: here lies Hugh vp Reese. 4

30. [LOVE'S LIKE A GAME.]

Loue's like a game at tables, where the die
 Of maydes affections doeth by fortune flye:
 If once they chaunce to take you in a blott,
 'Tis tenn to one if that you loose it not; 4
 But beinge a gamester, you may bouldly venter,
 And, when you see the poynte lies open, enter,^[leaf 14 bk.]
 But wat(c)h them wariely; or now and then,
 Doe what you can, they will be bearinge men. 8

31. [THE BARGAIN.]

The bargaine is noe more to make:
 But either giue, or let me take. 2

32. [TRUST NO WOMAN.]

¹ *Crede ratem ventis; animum ne crede puellis;*
Namque est fœminea tutior vnda fide.
Fœmina nulla bona est; et, si bona contigit vlla,
Nescio quo pacto res mala facta bona est. 4

[ENGLISH.]

Trust thy shipp vnto the winds,
 But doe not trust a woeman kinde;
 There is more safty in a wave
 Then in the faith which woemen haue. 4

¹ Here a second hand begins.

Noe woman's good ; and if it fall
 That one bee good amongst them all,
 Some strange intent y^e destinies had,
 To make a good thing of a badd. 8

[33. ANSWER.]

The reasons which you here propound, [leaf 15.]
 Are like the waves ; they haue noe ground ;
 And should I grant them to bee true,
 Yet they conclude noe good for you ; 4
 For if the Fates such purpose had,
 To make a good thinge of a badd,
 Then Adam was the thinge of naught,
 On which the good thinge, EVE, was wrought. 8

34.¹ [I'LL KEEP IT SECRET.]

Thinke not, deare loue, that I'le reueale
 Those howers of pleasure loue did steale.
 Noe eye shall see, nor yet the Sunn
 Discerne, what you and I haue done : 4
 Noe eare shall heare our loue, but wee
 As silent as the night will be. 6

The God of Loue himselfe, whose darte
 Did first wounde myne, and then, your harte,
 Shall neuer knowe, nor yet shall tell,
 What sportes in stolne imbraces dwell. 10

The only meanes to finde it out,² [leaf 15 bk.]
 Is, when I die, phisitions doubt
 What caus'd my death ; striuing to viewe
 Whether of their Judgments ar most true. 14
 They see my harte ; Oh, then I feare
 The world will finde your picture there. 16

¹ This poem is in a third and later hand.² This line is repeated.

Yyl of Breyntfords Testament,

BY

ROBERT COPLAND, BOKE-PRYNTER,

The Wyll of the Deuyll

and his

Last Testament,

**A Talk of Ten Wives on their
Husbands' Ware,**

A Balade or two by Chaucer,

And Other Short Pieces.

EDITED BY FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL.

PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION.

LONDON, 1871.

PRINTED BY TAYLOR AND CO.,
LITTLE QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS.

FOREWORDS.

IN hunting up Captain Cox's books lately, to give an account of each of them in my edition of *Laneham's Letter*, 1575, for the Ballad Society, and thus get a notion of the literature on which a reading middle-class man of Elizabeth's time was brought up, I came across "Julian of Brainford's testament" for the first time. Hearing that there was only one copy extant of the eight leaves of each of the only two editions known, I asked Mr. G. Parker of the Bodleian to transcribe the copy there for me¹; and as it proved to be worthy of preservation, I resolved to reprint it privately with another tract of like subject, *The Wyll of the Dewyll*, which I had seen in Lambeth Library two years ago when looking for MSS and books about the condition of England in Henry VIII's reign, and had then put down for reprinting in the Early English Text Society's list, but had since thought of withdrawing in order to avoid possible annoyance to the Society from any cantankerous puritan like the one who bothered me about the Percy-Folio Loose and Humorous Songs. Both tracts are of value as illustrating the manners and tone of the classes they treat of in Tudor days; and I have no notion of leaving them to be seen only by those who can spare time and money for visits to Lambeth and Oxford for that purpose. None of us students of English

¹ Mr. Collier does not say where the other copy, "Jyl of Braintford's Testament," is. [In his own possession.—T. Corser.] He holds it to be of the earlier edition. I hold it to be of the later, because it is less correct. Mr. Collier's reported variations of it are marked A in the notes following.

antiquity are beasts or fools enough to want to possess such tracts because they contain a few coarse words; we want the whole of the getatable evidence, whatever it may be, on the social condition of Tudor England, on our shelves, so that we may judge of it for ourselves.

Moreover, *Jyl of Breyntford* is by Robert Copland, the one of the poet-printers of Henry VIII's time to whom we are most indebted, and who has left us the most valuable picture I know, of the beggars and thriftless class of his day, in his *Hye Way to the Spyttel House*, which I recommend every one to read in the reprint in Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, 1866, vol. iv, p. 17. This *Hye Way* was another of Captain Cox's books, and I have given an account of it in my Forewords to *Laneham's Letter*. We owe besides to Robert Copland¹ the amusing "Complaynte of them that ben to late maryed" printed by Wynkyn de Worde; an 'Inuocation,' and perhaps all the metrical translations in 'The passyon of our lorde,' Wynkyn de Worde, 1532; "The History of Helyas Knight of the Swan translated out of french into English [by Robert Coplande] at the Instigation of y^e pusant and Illustrus prince y^e lord Edward Duke of Buckingham, Earle of Hereford Stafford & of Northhampton" (W. de Worde, 6 Febr. 1512-13); "The Life of Ipomydon," said to be printed by Wynkyn de Worde; "Kynge Appolyne of Thyre," a translation from the French, with an original prologue (W. de Worde, 1510); "The Rutter of the See, with the Hauens, Rodes, Soundynges, Kennynges, Wyndes, Flodes, and Ebbes, Daungers, and Coastes, of Dyuers Regyons, &c," London, 1528, a translation; an Address before, and an Envoy in verse after, a prose tract, "The

¹ His two names form an acrostic just preceding the last stanza . . a fact . . only recently pointed out to us. *Collier's Bibl. Cat.* i. 153. "He was probably the author, or rather, translator, of a second tract of similar character: "A complaynt of them that be to soone maryed," W. de Worde, 1535, 4to, 13 leaves, black letter; and of the "Payne and Sorowe of Euyll Maryage," W. de Worde, no date, 4to, 4 leaves, black letter." Hazlitt's *Early Pop. Poetry*, iv. 21, (at p. 73 of which volume the last named tract is reprinted).

spectacle of lovers. here after foloweth a lytell contrauers dyalogue bytwene loue and counsell, with many goodly argumentes of good women and bad, very compendyous to all estates, newly compyled by Wyllyam Walter, seruaunt vnto Syr Henry Marnaye, Knight, Chauncelour of the Dutchye of Lancastre," (W. de Worde: a copy in Mr. S. Christie-Miller's Library at Britwell¹); an address in verse by 'Roberte Coplande, boke-prynter, to new-fanglers,' in four 8-line stanzas, prefixed to Chaucer's *Assemblée of Foules* 1530, and at the end, an Envoy of 3 more stanzas; also another Envoy to Wynkyn de Worde's edition of 'The Castell of Pleasure,' a poem by William Nevyl, son of Lord Latimer². 'He also contributed the *Petycyon* and *Envoye* to the Myrroure of the Chyrche, 1521; and he has verses before the *Secrets of Aristotyle*, 1528².' Also, says Mr. Hazlitt, *E. Pop.* p. iv. 371, on the last leaf of 'The Introductory to wryte and pronounce Frenche' by Alexander Barclay, 'Imprynted at London in the Fletestrete at the sygne of the Rose Garlande by Robert coplande, the yere of our lorde M. CCCC. xxi. y^e xxii day of Marche,' is "Here foloweth the maner of dauncyng of base dances, after the vse of fraunce and other places, translated out of frenche into Englysshe by Robert coplande": this is reprinted in a note to my edition of *Captain Cox or Laneham's Letter*, Bal. Soc. 1871. "'The Secret of Secrets of Aristotyle,' translated out of French, and emprented by R. C. 1528, 4to, with the translator [R. Copland]'s Envoy in verse. 'The Maner to liue well &c,' printed by R. C. 1540, 4to, and translated, probably by himself, out of French. (See *Dibdin*, iii. 120-4.) 'The Art of Memorye,' translated out of French into English by Rob. Coplande. London, by W. Myddylton. 12mo.³"

Of the *Wyll of the Dewyll* I can find no notice, bibliogra-

¹ All from Hazlitt's *Handbook*.

² Hazlitt's *Early Pop. Poetry*, iv. 19, 20.

³ 'For further notices of Copland, consult Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i, p. 252; Warton's *Hist. Engl. Poet.* vol. i, p. cccxxvi, and vol. iv, p. 138; Dibdin's *Typog. Antiq.* vol. iii, p. 122; Ritson's *Bibliogr. Poet.* p. 173.—*Corser's Collect. Anglo-Poet.* Pt. iv, p. 455.

phical or other, but am told that Mr. J. P. Collier has reprinted a later edition of it in one of his Series, and, as usual, without saying where his original is. It is a sharp and coarse satire against certain classes of the society of its time, and is reprinted from the copy in the Lambeth Library. For Testaments more or less like the present one, see *Colyn Blowbols Testament*, printed in Mr. Halliwell's *Nugæ Poeticæ*, 1844, and Hazlitt's *Early Pop. Poetry*, i. 91; Dunbar's *Testament of Andro Kennedy*, 1508, (and in *Works*, ed. Laing;) 'Wyl Bucke, *His Testament*, by John Lacy, printed by W. Copland, no date, 4to (reprinted by Haslewood, and in *Literature of the 16th and 17th Centuries Illustrated*, 1851); *The Will and Testament of the Hare*, printed (I think) in the English *Gesta Romanorum*; *The Last Wyll and Testament of Dan Bartholomew of Bath*, printed in Gascoigne's *Posies*, 1575, 4to, Roxburghe Library, 1870. (*E. Pop. P.* i. 91.)

The Talk of Ten Wives on their Husbands' Ware was first brought into public notice by Sir F. Madden, in his account of the contents of the Porkington MS No. 10, in his *Syr Gawayne* for the Bannatyne Club. He called it an amusing but indelicate story. Mr. Halliwell also quoted several passages from it in his *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*. It illustrates those old-time women of Britain, of whom Chaucer's Wife-of-Bath and Dunbar's Widow are the types, and justifies those poets' sketches. The Ten Wives' Talk is, we may be sure, no libel on what went on at those frequent sittings 'at the ale' in which women formerly indulged. A near relative of mine, a few years since, was greatly astonished to see a like question to that discuss by the Wives, experimentally settled on some clean plates, for a bet, by a party of Welsh farmers after a market dinner at an inn on the borders.

A few other pieces of like character that have come across me in my manuscript work, are added.

In the *Jyl* tract the black-letter *I* is printed *I* or *J* according to modern usage.

EGHAM, September 2, 1870.

[4to, C. 39. Art. Seld. (Bodl. Libr.)]

Jyl of breyntfords testament.

Newly compiled;

[Woodcut of a man and a woman, with a house in the background.]

- [p. 2] “ ¶ Proface, maystres Jyllyan, with your company :
I pray you fyll you not to moche of that mutton ,
I promyse you that it is very queysy,
And, or ye be ware, wyll make your bely button.”

[Woodcuts of a man and 2 women. *Fantasy* over the man on the left ;
M. Jyllyan in the centre ; an unnamed one on the right.]

“ Take no thought, good syr, how I shal be fyld,
But come you nere, & take parte of our swylling.
Leaue your courteysy, I pray you, be pyld,
And couer your head ; I be-shrew the fylling !” 8

- [p. 3] ¶ Prologus of Robert copland, the auctor.

AT Brentford¹, on the west of London,
Nygh to a place *that* called is Syon²,
There dwelt a widow of a homly³ sort,
Honest in substaunce, & full of sport ; 12
Dally she cowd, *with* pastim & Jestes,
Among her neyghbours and her gestes ;

¹ Seven miles down the South Western Road. Many a walk did I have there from school at Hanwell, to buy books, papers, and packets of sweetstuff and cakes.

² Sion House is the Duke of Northumberland's big place between Brentford and Isleworth, seen well from the Thames and Kew Gardens, and is said to have as many windows as there are days in the year.

³ holy, A.—Collier.

She kept an Inne, of ryght good lodgyng,
 For all estates that thyder was comyng. 16
 It chaunced this wydow, as it is supposed,
 In her sport, and meryly dysposed,
 After her deth, for a remembraunce
 Thought to haue some matter of pastaunce 20
 For people to laugh at, in suche company
 As are dysposed for to talke meryly,
 Mengled with mani propre scoffes and boordes,
 Of sondry tauntes, with some mery woordes, 24
 The which I haue hard at many seasons
 Full of pastyme¹, with prety reasons ;
 For yf any dyd a thyng ouerthwart,
 They sayd euer, " ye shall haue a fart 28
 Of Jyll of Branford for your payne !"
 The which sayng oft troubled my brayn,
 For I neuer knew what the mater was,
 Nor coud the meanyng bryng to pas ; 32
 Tyll at the last, vpon a day
 I met on, Johā hardlesay,
 A mery felaw in eche company,
 Which sayd, " Copland, thou lokest drye !" 36
 " The truth," quod I, " is as ye say ;
 For I drank not of all thys day."
 [p. 4.] And of a short tale to make an ende,
 To the Read Lyon at the shamels end 40
 We went for to drynke good ale ;
 And as he was tellyng his tale,
 I offred hym for to drynke fyrst :
 " Copland," quod he, " art thou a-thyrst, 44
 And byddeth me a-fore the to drynke ?
 To my Jugement, I do thynke,
 Of Jyll of Brentford worthy thou art,
 Be her bequest to haue a fart ! 48

¹ pastaunce, A.—Collier. Compare Henry VIII's song, "Pastaunce with good companye," in my ed. of Captain Cox, or *Laneham's Letter*.

And truly now is come to my mynde,
 Not long ago how I dyde fynde
 An old scrow, all ragged and rent,
 Besemyng it is some mery entent, 52
 As dyuers say that do it rede ;
 But galaunt toyes ther semes in dede,
 It is so antyk, broken, and so raced,
 That all the chyef¹ is clene defaced. 56
 Take it, and I pray the hertyly
 Loke theron ; and yf thou espy
 That it be of any substance,
 Of myrth, or of honest pastaunce, 60
 And where thou spyest that it dooth want,
 Or where for lack the mater is scant,
 Put to it as is accordyng
 To the mater in euery thyng ; 64
 Bere² it with the, and take sume payne,
 The poore mare shall haue his man agayn³.”

¶ Whan I came home, at lasure,
 My hert not parfytly at pleasure 68
 [p. 5.] For the los of a certayn frynde,—
 As good knowes, few be to fy[n]de—
 For recreacion I it toke,
 To pas the tyme, ther on to loke ; 72
 And of trouth, oft in the redyng
 It dyd styre me to fall on smylyng,
 Consyderyng the prety pastyme
 And rydycle ordre of the ryme, 76

¹ Collier says that *chyet* in one copy is changed to *cheef* in the other, (*Bibl. Cat.* i. 153). This is probably one of those invented mistakes, of which some occur in his *Stat. Reg.* See my ed. of Boorde's *Introduction*, etc., E. E. T. Soc. 1871, p. 71-2, note. At any rate, either his *chyet* or *cheef* must be wrong.

² Keep, A.—Collier.

³ This line, says Mr. Collier, illustrates a speech by Puck in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act iii, sc. 2, the end :—

Iacke shall haue Iill, nought shall goe ill,
 The man shall haue his Mare againe,
 and all shall bee well. *Booth's reprint*, p. 157, col. 1.

The couert termes, vnder a mery sence,
 Shewing of many the blynd in-solence,
 Tauntyng of thynges past and to come,
 Where as my selfe was hyt with some; 80
 And for that cause I dyd intend
 After thys maner to haue it pende,
 Prayeng all them that mery be,
 If it touch them, not to blame me. 84

¶ An ende of the proll[o]gue.

Here foloweth the preface and testament of maystres
 Jyllygen of Brentford.

THIS mery wydow, mastres Jyllyan,
 On a day dysposed ioyfully,
 By any way that I presuppose can,
 Ordeyned a lytell banket of deinty; 90
 At the whiche, to bere her company,
 For certayne of her neyghbours she sent,
 And for her Curat, to be ther present, 93

Prayeng hym for to bryng paper and ynke,
 To wryte som-what after her entent.

She made hym chere of her meat and drynke.

[p. 6.] That doone, she sayd, "this is myne intent, 97
 That you as now shall wryte mi testament;
 For I do fele that aege dooth mee oppresse:
 Good is to haue all thyng in redynesse. 100

(a²)

"My neyghbours here shalbe *with* you recorde,

How I am penytent at this making,

And hole of minde, now, thanks to our lord;

Howbeit, I haue oft a shrewd shaking: 104

ye shalbe pleased for your payn takyng."

"ye, maystres," quod he, "I am your curate,

I am bound to serue you erli and late." 107

“ Well than,” quod she, “ In dei nomine, Amen !

My soule I bequeth to our lord almight :

He hath it maed, it is his own then ;

He hath it bought, it is his be ryght,

In heuen to be in the eternall lyght.

And to the erth I bequeth my body,

It is his own ; I can it not deny.

111

114

“ My synnes all I comyt to the deuyll.

Let hym take them with hym to hell,

For he was the causer of all myn euyll. .

My goodes, to the world, yf I do well,

For they be his, I can it not expell ;

Her I found them ; here they must remainy ;

Saue fame *and* name, I leue nothyng certain.

118

121

“ Now vnto my frendes, reason is I should

Haue a synguler aspect bi nature :

I gyue vnto them all that they hold,

[p. 7.] As moche as I do to any creature ;

yf they gete ought, then are they sure,

After my dethe, yf they do for me,

I bequeth to them of my charyte.

125

128

“ But now, good syr ! I pray you for to take

[.]

This cup of ale, and drynke ones for god sake,

For I am dysposed to ordeyn a dole

To all maner people thorow a hol ;

For I wold not haue to ouer moche preas,

Least that *with* throng my almes shold ceas.

132

135

“ Now ye haue dronk ones, good goostly father,

I trust for to make an ende the rather ;

137

“ ¶ And write as I do byd you, hardly :

‘ I bequethe a fart to hym that is angry

With his frend, and wotes not why.

140

- ‘ To hym that selleth al his herytage,
And all his lyfe lyueth in seruage,
I bequeth a farte, for hym in his aege. 143
- ‘ He that settes by no man, nor none by hym,
And to promocion fayn wold clym,
I bequethe a fart, for to make hym trym. 146
- ‘ He that wyll not lerne, and can do nothyng,
And with lewed folk is euer conuersyng,
I bequethe a fart, toward his lyuyng. 149
- [p. 8.] ‘ He that boroweth with-out aduantage,
And euermore renneth in arrerage,
I bequeth a fart, for to lye to gage. 152
- ‘ He that geueth, and kepeth nought at all,
And by kyndnes to pouerte dooth fall,
Shall haue a fart, to helpe hym with all. 155
- ‘ He that is euer way-ward at hart,
And with euery man is ouerwart¹;
For to please hym, I bequethe a fart. 158
- ‘ He that² hath drynke in his hand, and is dry,
Byddyng him drinke fyrst *that* standeth him by ;
I bequeth a fart, his thyrst to satysfy. 161
- ‘ He that hath a faire wenche in bed all night,
And kyssyng her not onse or it be day lyght,
Shall haue a fart to clense his eye syght. 164
- ‘ He that lendeth a horse, *with* all thynges mete,
And on his own vyage gooth on his fete,
Shall haue a fart to kepe hym fro wete. 167

¹ overthwart.² thay, *orig.*

- ‘ He that suffreth all maner of offence,
And loseth his goodes through neclygence,
Shall haue a farte for a recompence. 170
- ‘ He that taketh a wyfe, and haue nothyng,
And boroweth all thyng to them belonging ;
I wyll a fart toward theyr offryng. 173
- [p. 9.] ‘ He that prepareth not for his household
Agaynst wynter, and hym self is olde,
Shall haue a fart¹ to kepe hym fro coulde. 176
- ‘ ¶ He that gooeth to a feaste to sup or to dyne,
And hath no knyfe *with* hym, neyther cours nor fyne²,
Shall haue a fart for to drynke *with* his wyne. 179
- ‘ ¶ He that boroweth tyll none wyll lend hym,
And swereth so moche, tyll non wyll beleue hym,
Shall³ haue a fart for to rel[e]ue hym. 182
- ‘ ¶ He that mourneth for that he cannot haue,
And vnpossyble to get that he dooth craue,
Shall haue a fart, as a folysh knaue. 185
- ‘ He that dooth nothyng but shaue and poll,
And taketh no thought for to saue his soll,
Shall haue a fart, my passyng bel to toll. 188
- ‘ A prentyce or seruant that wyll not obay,
And wyll not lerne, but ofte ren a-way ;
A fart for hys fredom I do pouruay. 191
- ‘ He that suffreth his wyfe to do her lust,
And seeth that to foly she is full trust,
Shall haue a fart, though I sholde burst. 194

¹ fare, *orig.*

² Guests took their own knives with them to feasts.

³ Shal, *orig.*

- ‘ A wydow that ones hath ben in the brake,
And careth not whome that she doth take,
Shall haue a fart, though myn ars ake. 197
- [p. 10.] ‘ A mayde that marryeth, not caryng whome,
And doeth repent when she cometh home,
Shall haue a fart, to by her a come. 200
- ‘ ¶ He that dooth drynke euermore,
And wyll not shyfte to paye therfore,
S[h]all haue a fart for to set to¹ his score. 203
- ‘ He that goeth to a fray at the begynny[n]g,
And to a good meale at the latter endyng,
Shall haue a farte for his good attendyng. 206
- ‘ He that gooth oft where he is not welcom,
And to his fryndes hous gooth but seldom,
Shall haue a fart for his good wesdom.’ 209

Maystres² Iyll.

- “ Now hold your hand, and make a stay there.
Howe many fartes haue I bequest here ?
For by my trowth I am almost wery.” 212

The Curat.

- “ For soth, maystres, here is iomp³ four and twenty.” 213

Maystres Iyll.

- “ Nay, set in one mo, to make a hole quarteron.” 214

Curate.

- “ Tell me what, and it shalbe done anon.” 215

¹ no, *orig.*² Maysters, *orig.*³ *jump*, just, exactly.

Maystres Iyll.

- “ Mary, he that dooth his wepen lend,
 And hath nothyng hym selfe to defende, 217
 Shall haue a fart; and there an end.
 These I do bequeth in especiall;
 But as for all the other in generall 220
 That are with-out nombre, [they] shall not be
 swerued,
 But delt to all suche as haue them deserued.
 [p. 11.] But tary, I pray you all, yf ye please,
 For I fele me sodeynly euell at ease; 224
 It is a styche, romblyng in my syde,
 Which dooth greue me at many a tyde.
 I must rest me tyll the pang be gone,
 For other medicyn knowe I none. 228
 It cometh in maner of a wynd,
 That causeth my bely for to grynd;
 I feare it wyll turne to a strangury,
 To an vncom, or to a tympany; 232
 With qualmes & styches it doth me torment,
 That all my body is torne and rent;
 I haue a lytell box full of dyaculum,
 I dare not for nygorshyp¹ take sum, 236
 I-wis I am vnwyse so for to spare it,
 For I should take ther-of a-fore the fet.” 238

The Curat.

- ¶ With that she groned, as panged with payne,
 Grypyng her bely with her hands twayne,
 And lyft vp her butook som-what a-wry,
 And lyke a handgon, she lete a fart fly. 242

¶ *Maystres Iyll.*

- “ ¶ Ah, syrre, mary, a-way the mare!
 The deuyll geue the sorow and care,

¹ ? for 'nygonship,' miserliness; 'niggon,' a niggard, a miser.

For thou haddest me almoost slaine !
I pray god thou come neuer a-gayne !” 246

¶ *The Curate.*

With that sum laughed, & sum did frown,
And for shame held they heades down. 248

¶ *Maystres Iyll.*

“ ¶ Be merry,¹ neybour, moch good do it yow !
I thank god I am well eased now !
[p. 12.] Loo ! there is my gryef gone and past ;
I wyst well that it wold not long last. 252
I pray you all for to be mery ;
I gyue it among this company,
For to make you some chere with-all ;
For I tell you, myn executors shall 256
Neuer haue all : by god I swere,
I wyll deale whyle I am here,
Now and than, where as I lyst.
By Chryst, I tell you, I have a chyst 260
Full, that shall be open whyle I lyue,
Secretly and openly for to gyue.
I shall haue ynough, I wyll not them spare,
As well for other, as myn own welfare. 264
Whan I am dead, they that come after me
S[h]all deale the rest at theyr necessaryte.
Therefore as now, thys suffycyent
As concerning this sayd testament. 268
To sub[s]crybe your names, it shall not skyl ;
For I make it but as copy of a wyll.
As touchyng the choys of myn executours,
Of my funerals, and surueyours, 272
And other tryfles, ye shall not take the payns ;
Another tyme, whan it comes in my brayns,
It shalbe ordred after suche a sorte
That some shall not take it as a sporte. 276

¹ mercy, *orig.*

- But, neybour, I pray you be not angry
 Bycause that I am so bold and homly
 To kepe you here at my folysh reason.
 Some wyll thynke my wyts be geson¹; 280
 But yet I tell you that all this season
 We haue neyther sayd heresy nor treason;
 [p. 13.] And yf thè take it neuer so at hartes
 I-wys it is but a bequest of fartes, 284
 Wylled to them that, without aduysement,
 Do that thyng waer of they repent:
 Ther fore I wyll you no longer trouble.
 288
 What, mayd! come hyther,² I shrew your nek!
 Bryng vs vp shor[t]ly a quarte of sek,
 A cowple of bunnes, and set vs som chese.
 Lo, frendes, ye shall not all your labour lese; 292
 I haue as now no better chere to make you;
 Be mery and welcome! to god I be-take you! 294

Finis.

[A woodcut of a woman with a basket on her arm, and of a man with a book in his hand: like the cut on the title-page.]

¹ scanty.

² printed 'hyher.'

[p. 14.]

¶ *The auctour.*

Whan *the compani* was al passed & gone,
 And *the curate with maistres* Iil alone : 296
 “Maistr[i]s” quod he, “if it be your plesauce,
 ye know it is *the custam & ordinaunce*
 Of them *that* writ a dede, indenture, or byll,
 That it is of ryght, reason, & skyll, 300
 Some recompence of labour for to haue :
 Gyue what ye lust, for I wyll not craue.”
 “By our lady,” quod she, “that is but well said.
 What, John ! how ! come hyther, mayd ! 304
 Go call the company a-gayne to me,
 For I haue to say, two woordes or thre.”

Whan they came, she sayd, “neyghbours, I pray
 you, bere record what I do saye : 308
 I sent for you for a certayne purpose
 Whiche a-for you I dyd dysclose ;
 The truth is so, after the same rate
 I dyd send also for mayster curate, 312
 To wryte, ye sawe, my symple testament.
 Now in dede, as is conuenyent,
 He doth aske for his labour therefore.
 In dede, bicause he mad no bargaine before, 316
 And dooth put it to my conscience,
 Truli this shall he haue for a recompence ;
 And by-cause a-fore hand he k[n]ewe my mynde,
 He shall not fynd me to hym vnkynde : 320
 A fart and a half I wil geue hym, no les,
 Nor no more ; thys is of my gentylnes ;
 For he that worketh, vnknowing whan to haue,
 Not half a fart is worthi for to craue, 324
 [p. 15.] And besyde that, a hood full of bels.”
 “Why,” quod the preste, “get I nothyng els ?
 Than to the deuill I gene hole fart, half, and all !”
 “Nay, take it thy selfe, folysh syr Hoball, 328
 Syr John whypdok, syr Jak whypstoke,
 Syr John smelsmok, as wyse as a woodcock !

A hedge Curat, *with* as moche wit as a calf,
 To syt so long for a fart and a halfe ! 332
 But to proue your braynes to be thynner,
 Or euer ye go, pay for your dynner !"
 This¹ she raeled, as her maner was to iest ;
 And so, with-out farwell, lost her dayly gest. 336

Finis.

¶ Thus endeth Jill of Brantfords testament
 conteynyng. xxvi. farths and a half.

¶ *An exhortacyon,*

My maysters, I pray you all that shall rede
 Or here [th]is lytell prety fantasy, 340
 Passeng forth meryly, in it to proced,
 The maner how for to deale moost egally
 This half fart truly, for to try,
 That the Curate for his parte be not denyde 344
 Of the fart and the half, and let the rest ly ;
 And who shal haue *the* half among you to be trid[e].

In this matter, yf ye do a-gre,
 Who shall haue this half fart, say ye ? 348

¶ Imprinted at London in Lothbury ouer agaynst
 Saint Margarytes church by me
 Wyllyam Copland.

¹ [p. 16, *blank.*]

[End.]

¹ often printed for *thus*.

[From the original black-letter tract in the Lambeth Library.]

¶ The Wyll of the Deuyll, [A. i.]

And last Testament.

An Exhortacion to the deuyls [sign. A. ii.]
Adherentes.

PAmachus, Bishop of Rome, beweylyng the death of Belsebub his father, doth cause al his Auernals forked-tipes, & anoynted Gentlemen, to come to the readyng of the Deuyls Testament & Last Wyll, which he, his owne selfe, trustyng no body in so hyghe mattiers, he dothe reade out a loude openly, sayyng as hereafter followeth.

The wyll of the deuyl.

IN myne owne name, Amen! I Belseebub, cheife of hel, Prince of darkenesse, Father of the vnbeleuers, and Gouvernour of the vⁿiuersall sinagoge Papistical, beyng sycke in bodye and soule, make ¹[A. ii. back. this my Testament and Last Wyll, in maner & forme folowyng, that is to say: Fyrst, I bequethe my spytefull soule & body to my sonn Antichrist, togeder to be buried in saynt Peters Church at Rome, vndernethe the hygh Aulter and Canapie, or in the stony & carnall heartes of my Dearlynges, the Massemongers and Papistes. Also, all my Ceremonies which in the Churches bee vsed here within this region, I geue them to the makers & inuentors ther-of, & to their posteritie, to bestow them where thei wyll: that is to wyt: First, I geue and bequethe to pope Phelix, all suche superstitious & idle holydayes, as he inuented: & to

[¹ leaf A iii] Honourous, ¹that Iue and coniuurer, I geue the Offerynges which were geuen to ydolles & ymages. And I geue Constantine al the whole ymages of my Churches: My belles, to Sabinianus: my popysh Hymnes, to Pope Leo: my Matens and Organs, to Urbanus & Uitalianus: my syngyng, to Pope Stephanus: my Procession, to Agapitus: to Pope Alexander, my coniuered waters: to Paschalis, my reliques: to Honorius, my Letany: my supersticion of Lent, to Thelesphorus; the vigil saturdaye, to Pope Innocent: & the friday fish, to Pope Leo: The Imbredays, to pope Calixtus: to Theodorus, the Paschall at Easter: to Gregory the .vii. the Saintes vigils and Rogacion wycke: my Lent seruyce, to A²uela the first: my Shrines and dedication, to Sergius & Phelix: All Hallowes & all soules daye, to Johan the .xix. And to Pope Boniface the .iiii. My yearely Confession, to the councell of Laterenence: & al other my Ceremonies, to the Innenters therof, as precisely as I rehersed them *particularly* by name.

And I geue and bequethe to the Usurers of all Tounes and Places, .xx. millions of golde, to be deuided equally betweene them, as they woulde parte my blessing; and that they le[nd]ande to no maner of person any part therof, without great lucre and gaynes, yea, and without bearyng any aduerture at all.

Item, I geue my Chastitee to the Cleargy. Also, I ³ if A 4. geue to the best parte of them, eueryche, ³a red bloody goun; and euery other of them, a longe greene goun, or a fyne blacke goun, with eueriche their tippettes of veluet & sarcenet, doune to the grounde, to be knowen from other men, followyng me to my buriall, if I dye, and none other persones.


Item, I geue to the meane sorte of people, a M. loaues of bread, to be geuen to the dogges, rather *then* to poore men. Item to the Mercers & Grocers, and other reteylers of wares, euerich of them, a clothe, to hange before their wyndowes: & eueryche of them a subtile light, to make all their wares to shew fyne.

Item, I geue to the Uintiner, all my rotten wynes, to apparell the rest of their Wynes.

¹ If. A 4 back. Item, I geue to euery ¹Tayler, a Banner, wherein shal be conteyned al the parcelles of cloth and sylkes .&c. as he hathe cast them into hell.

Item, I geue to eueryche of the cheifest menne of Lawe, a Moyle, to bryng him to hell; and two right handes to helpe himself with-all, to take money of both partes: and to euery of these pety Bouget men of lawe, and Tearmers, a couple of geldynges for him and his man to ryde vp & doune, and a Bouget to put inne their Sub-Penas, to crake the poore men with-all in the countrey. Item, I geue to all Women, souereygntee, which they most desyre; & that they neuer lacke excuse.

Item, I geue to euery syngle woman and vnchaste wyfe in London, a couered Basket, to ² beare in their ² leaf B. i. handes; & to the fynest sorte of them, an Apple squyre, to go before eueryche of them to couer their follyes.

Item, I geue to all Whoremongers, Fornicators, and Adnouterers, a craftye wytte, to wrest the scriptures, & to make them serue for filthy purposes, therby to excuse & proue themselues faultlesse. Wherein, I wyl al our Sodomitical Clergye, which for their owne ease do abhorre paynfull wedlocke, and replenish the worlde with incestuous whoredome, to helpe and ayde them with vnshamefast railyng agaynst our enemies, the ministers of Goddes worde. Item, I geue vnto hym  which, vnder the tytyle of Heresytes Testament, dyd, as a valiant Champion of ours, ³ most treaterously diffame and sclauder the ³ leaf B 1 back. trew doctrine of my great foe and enemye, Jesu Christ, a stubburne, styffe, & rebellious hert, therwith stoutly—thoroughe my special diuelysh grace—to withstand & resist, and as moche as in him lyeth, to let, his Princes procedynges, and to intoxicate & poyson the simple, lest they falle and swarue from me; and after his deceasse, if he continew faithfully to the end in my seruyce, a place in hel, next to Sathan my eldest sonne.

And bicause that—with the inuincible sworde of my mortall enemy, which most victoriously reigneth nowe, our kyngdome beyng almost subuerted, sauing that yet, some of our Marked monsters do boldly & vnshamefastly, agaynst
¹ leaf B ii. their owne con¹science & knowledge, do maynteyne and vpholde it, fightyng with toothe and nayle for our honor and right,—I feele my self wounded to death, without any hope of recouery, (For all Phisicions, to whom I haue geuen leue to kyl boldly, without any feare of enditement or hangyng, and to minister poyson to the pacientes, in stede of wholsome phisicke, haue with the crafty and theuysh surgeons all forsaken me,) I doo here, in my ragious mynde, geue my ample & large banner & standarde, the Masse, vnder the which all false Christians haue with me stoburnly and moch more blasphemously fought agaynst the price of their owne soule heathe and redemption, that is to say, the deathe and bloode of my most
² leaf B. ii. back. deadlye ² enemy Jhesu Christ, vnto my good, especiall, and trusty frendes, Emserus, Echius, Faber Constanciensis, and Stephen Gardenerus, with many other, vnto whom, if they wyll persist stil in my desent & comely camp of blasphemy, I haue prepared a place meete for suche Champions and worthy knyghtes: Reserued alway, that my sonne the Antichrist, with his shauelynges and annoynted Sodomites, shalbe participant therof, that so, with the daily Offeryng of a new made God, they may purchase vnto themselues my Satannicall blessyng and helly rest.

I do geue to Urbanus the .i. the syluer and golden Chalice; and vnto Sixtus the first, all my fyne Corporaces; &
³ leaf B iii. the holy ³ deuclish halowed Uestimentes or Parliament robes, whiche my Standardbearers doo vse to weare in my battayles and warres, I dooe bequethe vnto Stephen the first.

Item, I geue the rablement of the other feined and domme ceremonies wherwith my standard is patched and made, to the Popysh masmongers, to conforte their sory

hertes with-all, licensyng them, with the misunderstood Gospell & Epistell to cloke their blasphemous Masse, as I myself dyd bring against myne enemy Christ, playn scriptures, to blynde him with-all. These bee the domme & blasphemous Ceremonies that I do meane; the *Confiteor*, wherein is the puddle of all blasphemye; the Office; the misused *Kyrye ele'son*; their blasphemous¹ leaf B iii back. Colectes; their couetous Offertory, to spoyle the poore Laitee with-all, and fyll their owne purses; their stinkyng Canon, with their *Sussipe sancta Trinitas* wherewith they robbe my great enemy Christ of his honor and glory. Item, I wyl them, vnder the colour of the Communion set furthe by their godly Prince, boldly and vnshamefastly to keepe, maintayne, & vpholde my blasphemous Masse, which is an iniurye to the right institucion of the Lordes Supper.

Item, I geue to all them that kepe whores beside their wives, a bawdy house of their owne, & this sayng of the retcheles woman in Salomon² (Stollen waters ar sweete, & the bread that is priuely eaten hathe a good³ leaf B 4. ³taste) to defende their baudery.

Item, I geue to all Preestes, Lemondes, that wyl not marry, but perseuer in their Sodomiticall & abhominable chastitee, that they shall pysse holy water all the dayes of their lyfe, euer chattering agaynst the trewe wyues of the Ministers.

Item, I geue to all them that professe the Gospell, and with their filthy liuyng doo geue occasion to blaspheme the same, a fayre tongue to talke of it, an hipocriticall face, and a newe Testament or other Booke in their handes, to hyde their feined holynesse, & hipocrisye with all.

Item, I geue to euery Ruffian, a sword & a buckeler, a shyрте of mayle, & hosen of the same, a payre of chayned buskens, a theu-ish looke, & a whore.

² The brackets are those of the original.

¹Item I geue to all my idle huswyues, a small
¹ leaf B 4
back. huswyfe or .ii. to kepe them company with-all, &
to loue other mens houses better then their owne,
and to passe as much for their honesty as thei do of their
cobled shoes, and also, a loue to go gay on the holy day, and
to do nothing; and other of the workyng daye, to kepe them
occupied styll.

Item, I bequethe to all dycers, otherwyse called wynde-
shaken gentle men, to euery one a thousand payre of false
dice, a copper chayne or two, .xx. copper rynges plated with
golde, a glosyng tongue, a fayre dissembled countinaunce,
to deceyue playne men with-all, & an acre of land vpon
shoters hyll, worth an hundreth pounce a yeare, therewith
² leaf C i. to mainteyne his e²state, and his amorous
ladyes.

Item, I bequethe to euery honest woman, beyng a
furtherer of loue, the keyng of some great mans house,
that in the owners absence, fayre wyues may resorte
thyther, to banket & make mery with their Frannians.

Item, I bequethe to euery yong woman maydenlyke,
when she shall goe to the market, a poore woman to bye
her meate, that she in the mene tyme may go to a baudy
house for her recreacion, or elles to a dauncyng scoole to
learne facions &c.

Item, I bequethe to euery apprentise that is willyng to
deceauue his maister, a receauer of his masters goodes; a
house to set his chest in, with his apparell, that he maye
³ sign. C,i. go clenly; a Ruffian for his compa³nion, to helpe
back. him to spende his money, & to bring him ac-
quainted with whores .&c.⁴

Item I bequethe to all couetous excequtors⁵, a false &

⁴ Compare Chaucer's apprentice, with his friend who helpt him to
spend his plunder, whose wife swived for her sustenance, and to whose
house he moved his bed and his array when he was sent away by his
master for robbing his box:—*Cook's Tale*; *Canterbury Tales*, Group
A, § 8, l. 4389–4422.

⁵ Too secuturs and an overseere make thre theves. *Harl. Catalogue*,

an vnfaithfull hert, & loth to departe frome that whiche is not their owne, not bestowing the goodes of the deceased to the comforte of the Poore Flocke of Jhesu Christ, which causeth vs much to reioyce together in hell, to see the multitude that cometh thither dailye, for that dredefull offence committynge.

Item, I geue to all hatefull haters of the poore Christians, a proude, crafty, & vnmercifull wyt, agaynst the prouision for the releyfe and maintinaunce of the same.

Item I geue to certayne Cities, Tounes, and Countreyes, ^{1 leaf C .ii.} negligent rulers, deuelysh, vnchast, couetous, and vnsaciabie ministers, pollers, and guydes, to haue the gouernance therof; Kepyng the goodes bequethed to the maintinance of the same, to their owne lucre & vantage, and to make merchaundyce of the goodes, landes, & rentes of the same, to oppresse the Poore laboring flocke of myne enemy Jesu Christ, that thei enioy not those goodes, landes, & rentes, according to the wylle & mynde of the Bequethers, but mayntayne vsury, and make leaces of the rentes therof, to the utter vndoing of all Artificers: For the whiche Usurpers is prouyded a place with me in our infernall Cities & Palaces, wher they shall reygne, with Diues Epulo, worlde without ende.

^{2 leaf C .ii.} Item, I geue to the faithfull seruauntes of my sonne back. Mammona, a proude, couetous, and an vncharitable hert, therwith boldly & without mercy, to oppresse the poore, to spoile the fatherlesse and wydowes, and to put the commens of the countrey frome their Farmes, Houses, commodities & liuyng, and all to mainteyne their pride, & eueriche of them, which after their deceasse wyll spende all their euyl gotten goodes merily, with cardyng, dicyng, & whorehuntyng.

Item, I geue to all Craftes men that fyght vnder my standarde, a lyeng tongue, & swearyng. Item, I geue to the Butchers, new fresh blood to ouer sprinckle their stale

ii. 727, col. 1: *Reliq. Antiq.* i. 314. See the many stories about rascally executors in R. Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, &c. &c.


meate¹, that it may seeme to the eye of the vnware byer,
² leaf C 3. newly kylld, ²& prickes inough to set vp their
 thynne meate, that it may appeare thicke and
 well fedde.

Item, I geue to the Fishmongers, free libertee to sell
 their rotten lyniges & stinkyng saltefysh, to breedē &
 engendre diseases among the people, to the phisicians
 advauntage & proffit.

Item, I geue to the Kookes and Pye-bakers, good leane
 to shreade mouldy meate, & ready to renne away for quick
 ware³, & to mengle it together with new fresh flesh, there-
 with to make pies & pasties, to furnysh their neyghbours
 tables with-all.

Item, I geue to the Goldesmithes, brasse & copper inough
 to myngle with their rynges & plate, to make them to wey
 for advauntage. Item I geue to the Peuterers, & all other
⁴ leaf C 3 that ⁴ occupye weyghtes & measures, to haue false
 back. & contrary weightes, to bye with the one, & sell by
 another. Item, to the Apothicaries, I geue leane, that
 when a man asketh them a thyng, & [they] haue it not, to
 bryng them another thyng, and say it is that.

Item, I geue to my Dearlynges, the priuey papistes,
 ymages, Crucifixes, and other lyke puppet maumetry, to
 worship secretly in their Oratories and bed Chaumbres,
 bicause they may not worship them openly abrode in
 Temples & churches.

 Ouer this my Testament & last Wylle, which I haue
 here made, in my ragyous mynde and spytefull diuelysh
 memory, in the presence of my great councellour[s], Minos,
 & Radamanthus: I do make the Furies of ⁵hell
⁵ leaf C 4. excequtors, that is to saye: Megera, Alecto, & Tisi-
 phone: all Massemongers & Papistes, with the Authour of

¹ Compare the first Sleight of Cookery (slyzte of cure) in the *Liber Cure Cocorum*, ed. Morris, 1862, p. 5.

³ live maggots. Cp. the Cook in Green's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, p. 59.


Heresyes Wyll and Testament¹, beyng faythfull ouerseers of the same.

(Written by our faythfull Secretaryes, Hobgoblyn, and Bloodybone, in the spytefull Audience of all the Courte of hell.

TESTE ME IPSO.

² leaf C 4
back.

²The Courte Auernall, after the
rehersall of the Deuylls
last wyll and
Testament.

 Wo, wo, to our vnsaciabie paunches, which thorough our Souereygne Lorde Belseebub had ben so long fed with the labors of the Laitee! O our belly chere, our belly chere, fare well! that mischeife maye come vpon these new Gospellers, by whom wee shall bee driuen to ploughe and to carte, and to kepe shepe!

O Belseebub our sweete
Mazon, Masses of
Requiem
thou shalt lacke
None.

Imprinted at London by Humfrey Powell.³

¹ Neither this tract (which was mentioned before on p. 22) nor its author is now known.

³ Humphrey Powell dwelt in 1548 above Holborn-conduit. He appears soon afterwards to be the first printer in the kingdom of Ireland. I have heard of no book printed by, or for, him at London, after 1551, yet I find him in the list of the Stationers' Company in the year 1556.—*Ames*, p. 264.

A Talk of Ten Wives on their Husbands' Ware.

[Mr. Ormsby Gore's Porkington MS. No. 10, ab. 1460 A.D.,
leaf 56, back.]

L Eve, lystynes to me
Two wordys or thre,
And¹ herkenes to my songe ;
And I schafft teft þow a tale,
Howe .x. wyffys satt at þ^e nale,
And noman hem a-monge.

“ Sen we haue no othere songe
[Forto singen vs amonge,]
Talyt lett vs teft
Off owre hosbondes ware,
Wych of hem most worthy are
To-day to bere the beft.

And I schafft nowe begyn att myne :
I knowe the mett² weft & fyne,
The lenz^{te} of a snayle,
And euer he warse is from day to day.
To grete god euer I pray
To gyve hym evyle hayle.”

¶ The secound wyffe sett her nere,
And seyde, “ by the rode, I haue a ware
That is two so mene³ :

[leaf 57.]

¹ Every final d, g, m, n, has a curl to it, which in some cases must mean e. ² measure, length. ³ middling; ‘twice as poor.’

I mett¹ hym in þ^e morowe tyde,
 When he was in his moste pryde,
 The lenzte of .iij. bene.

“Howe schuld I be served with that?
 I wold gybbe, owre gray catt,
 Were cord þere on!
 By sayne peter owte of rome,
 I se neuer a wars lome
 Standyng opon mone.”

¶ The .iij. wyffe was fuff woo,
 And seyð that “I haue one of thoo
 That nozte is at nede;
 Owre syre breche, when hit is torn,
 Hys pentyff pepythe owte be-forn
 Lyke a warbrede²;

“Hit growethe aft with-in þ^e here:
 Sychon se I neuer ere,
 Standyng opon schare³.
 zett the schrewe is hodles,
 And of aft thyng goodles!
 There cryste gyve hym care!”

[leaf 57 back.]

¶ The .iiij. wyffe of the floke
 Seyd, “owre syre fydecoke⁴
 ffayn wold I skyfte⁵:
 He is longe, and he is smalle,
 And zett hathe þ^e fydefalle⁴;
 God gyve hym sory thryfte!

¹ meted, measured.

² ? Warbot. ‘A worme, *escarbot*, Palsgrave.’ Halliwell. Cp. ‘War-beetles. The large maggots which are bred in the backs of cattle. Norfolk.’ *Ib.*

³ ‘The pubes of a man.’ Halliwell, quoting this passage. ‘The fork of the legs,’ from A.S. *sceare* shears, scissors.

⁴ For *fyde*, cp. our *Fiddle*, *fiddle-de-dee*, nonsense; *fiddle-head*, stupid, etc.

⁵ shift, change; A.S. *sciftran*.

“The leste fyngere on my honde
 Is more *than* he, whan he dothe stonde :
 Alasse *that* I am lorn !
 Sory mowntyng com there-on !
 He schold a be a womon
 Had he be eere born.”

¶ The .v. wyffe was fuff fayn
 When sche hard her felowys playn,
 And vp sche gan stond :
 “Now ze speke of a tarse¹ !
 In all þ^e warld is not a warse
 Than hathe my hosbond.

[leaf 58.]

“Owre syre bradys² lyke a dere,
 He pysses his tarse euery zere,
 Ryzte as dothe a boke :
 When men speke of archery,
 He mon stond faste there-by,
 Or ellys hys schote woff troke³.”

¶ The .vj. wyffe hyzte sare ;
 Sche seyde : “my hosbondys ware
 Is of good a-syse⁴ ;
 He is whyte as ony mylke,
 He is softe as ony sylke,
 zett sertis he may not ryse.

“I lyrke⁵ hym vp *with* my hond,
 And pray hym *that* he woff stond,
 And zett he lythe styff.

¹ ‘Mentula, virga :’ Halliwell, citing this passage.

² Þ sheds his horns ; Þ *braid*, to draw a sword out of the scabbard.

³ fall short : Halliwell, quoting these lines. Þ A.S. *trucan* fail.

⁴ measure, standard of weight, etc.

⁵ jerk. *Lirt* to toss, West. and Cumb. Dial. p. 368 : Halliwell, citing this passage.

When I se *that* aff is noȝte,
 I thynke mony a thro¹ thoȝte;
 Bot cryste wote my wyff."

[leaf 58 back.]

¶ The .vij. wyffe sat on the bynch,
 And sche caste her legge on wrynch,
 And bad fyff the wyne:
 "By seynt Iame of galys,
 In englund ne in walys
 Is not a wars *than* myne!

"Whon owre syre comys In,
 And lokes after *that* sory pyne
That schuld hengge bytween his leggis,
 He is lyke, by the rode,
 A sory laueroke² satt on brode
 Opon two adyff eggis."

¶ The .viii. wyffe was well I-taȝte,
 And seyde, "seldom am I saȝte,
 And so I weff may:
 When the froste fresys,
 Owre syris tarse lesys,
 And aff-way gose a-way.

When the ȝeke³ gynnys to synge,
 Then the schrewe begynnys to sprynge,
 Lyke a humbulbe;
 He cowres vp on othere two,—
 I know not the warse of tho,
 I schrew hem aff thre!"

[leaf 59.]

¶ The .ix. wyffe sett hem nyȝe,
 And held a mett⁴ vp on hyȝe
 The lenȝte of a fote:

¹ fierce.² lark.³ A.S. *geac* a cuckoo.⁴ measure.

“ Here is a pyntell of a fayre lenȝte,
 But he berys a sory strenȝte,—
 God may do boote¹ ;—

“ I bow hym, I bend hym,
 I stroke hym, I wend² hym ;
 The deuell mot hym sterve !
 Be he hote, be he cold,
 Tho I torn hym two fold,
 ȝett he may not serve.”

¶ The .x. wyffe be-gan her tale,
 And seyde, “ I haue on of the smale, [leaf 59 back.]
 Was wyndowed a-way.
 Of all noȝtes it is noȝte :
 Sertis, and hit schuld be boȝte,
 He is not worth a nay” ∴ Amen.

¹ remedy, help.

² turn.

A Balade or two by Chaucer.

[The two following Balades owe their importance to Shirley's heading over their second page, the back of leaf 244, "Balade by Chaucer." Over the first stanza of the first Balade, near the foot of the page, is merely written "Balade;" but over the second stanza, at the top of the back of leaf 244, is the headline "Balade by Chaucer," and this second stanza begins with a capital letter as if it were the first stanza of an incomplete Balade. Taken-in by this, I printed only the 2nd and 3rd stanzas in *The Athenæum*, February 18, 1871, p. 210, col. 2, but a Chaucer friend, who had at first been taken-in like I had, and then found out his mistake, told me of mine; and here accordingly is the complete Balade, though without the Envoy which it ought to have.

Following it is the incomplete Maidenhead-Balade that disputes with the Swiving one the title to being Chaucer's. Either or both may well have been written by the author of some of the *Canterbury Tales*.

"Shirley was Chaucer's contemporary, having been born in 1366 (as Ritson, *Bibl. Poet.* 102, reports Stowe), and himself wrote verses. He is our great authority for the authorship of the minor poems of his time. He died in 1456, aged ninety, and copied volumes of verse (and prose), of which at least five still exist. The handsomest, a vellum one, written before Shirley was old, is Harl. 7,333, containing Chaucer's 'Canterbury Tales,' &c., some of Lydgate's Poems, &c.; the other three known to me are, the Additional MS. 16,165 in the British Museum, on paper, written in Shirley's old age, containing Chaucer's 'Boethius,' the present Balade, &c.; Ashmole 59 in the Bodleian, on paper, containing Lydgate's Poems, &c.; and a paper MS. R. 3. 20 in Trinity College, Cambridge, of Lydgate's Poems, &c. Mr. Bradshaw has seen a fifth Shirley MS—of Lydgate's Poems—that the late Mr. Lilly had on sale for £120; but as no English buyer would give that sum for it, it went to the United States.

"On the first view, then, we ought to presume that the following Balade (or Balades) is (or are) Chaucer's; and, as neither is in Dr. Morris's or Mr. Robert Bell's edition of Chaucer's Poetical Works, both ought to be put before Early-English students." (*Athenæum*, altered.)]

[Shirley's MS, Additional 16,165 in the British Museum, leaf 244.]

Balade (on Swiving).

Hit is no right¹ alle oþer lustes to leese /
 þis moneþe of May / for missyng of on cas
 þer-fore I wol / þus my chaunce cheese
 Ageyns love / trey ageyns an as /
 Hasard a tout² and launche an esy pas /
 In lowe countrey / þer as hit may not greve
 þus holde I bett / þan laboure as a reve /

¹ Every final *f*, *g*, *t*, has a tag to it.

² P MS. cont.

¶ Sith hit is so / þer as hit may not freese / [leaf 244 back.]
 þat euery wight / but I · haþe sume solas
 I wol me venge on loue as doþe a breese¹
 On wylde horsse þat rennen in harras² /
 ffor / maugre love amiddes in his cumpas
 I wol conclude / my lustes to releeve /
 þus holde I bett / þan labour as a Reve /

¶ Yit might I seyne / cryst seeyne³ as whan men sneese⁴ /
 If I hade leue / to hunt in euery chace
 Or fisshen / and so myn angle leese /
 þat Barbelle hað swoloweð boþe hooke and lace /
⁵Yit launche a steerne / and put at suche purchace
 To fonde⁶ to dompe⁷ / als deepe as man may dyeve /
 þus holde I bett / þan labour as a Reeve /

[Shirley's MS. Addit. 16,165 (Brit. Mus.), leaf 244 back.]

Balade.

[The Yard-Plough with its Ball-Stots.]

¶ Of alle þe crafftes oute / blessed⁸ be þe ploughe
 So mury it is / to holde[n] it⁹ by-hinde /
 ffor whanne þe share / is shoven Inn depe ynoghte
 And þe cultre / Kerveþe / in his kuynde /
 þe tydee¹⁰ soyle / þat doþe þe lande vnbynde /

¹ Gaddy.

² Stud of brood mares and horses.

³ ? 'save'—MS. may be 'seevue'—or ? 'saine,' make whole, protect.

⁴ ? MS *fnese*. Ellis's *Brand*, iii. 66, quotes from Langley's 'Polydore Vergil,' fol. 130 *b*, "There was a plage whereby many as they needed dyed sodeynly, wherof it grew into a custome that they that were present when any man neezed should say, 'God helpe you!' A like deadly plage was sometyme in yawning, wherfore menne used to fence themselves with the signe of the Crosse: bothe whiche customes we reteyne styl at this day."

⁵ *Query*, MS. ?

⁶ Try.

⁷ Plunge.

⁸ All the final *dees* and *efs* have a curl to them.

⁹ ? MS.

¹⁰ ? MS. *rydee*.

Ageyns þe hil / Tpruk¹ In, tpruk out, I calle /
ffor of / my ploughe / þe best[e] stott² is balle /

¶ þe Dryver hade a goode³ / at whuhche I loughe /
ffor of þe poynt whan stripped was þe Rynde /
He dyd dryve In, þeghe þe lande were toughe /
Boþe Rudd and Goore / and eke Bayard þe blynde
⁴pat beter beestis / may þer no man fynde /
Ageyns þe hil / tpruk In, tpruk out, I calle /
ffor of my ploughe / þe best[e] stotte is balle /

¹ ? Tprnk.

² This Reve sat vp on a ful good *stot*

That was al homely grey / and highte Scot.

CHAUCER, *Canterbury Tales*, Group A,

§ 1, l. 615, Ellesmere MS, p. 18.

³ goad.

⁴ leaf 245.

[Addit. MS. 16,165, leaf 245.]

¶ Deuotissima suffragia pro mulieribus impregnandis.

[Oratio]

¶ Omnipotens sempiterne deus / qui beatissimam virginem
& matrem Mariam in conceptu / et partu concecrasti, et
Ionam prophetam de ventre Ceti potenti virtute liberasti /
famulam tuam .N. grauidam *protege* & vi[vi]fica in salutari
tuo, vt proles in ea contenta feliciter ad lucem prodeat, et ad
graciam lauacri proueniat, ipsaque in *parturiendo* dolorem
miseri corditer evadat, & a morte periculo *secura* *permane*at /
per dominum nostrum Iesum cristum filium &c /

Secreta /

Suscipe, *quesumus* domine, preces & hostias *humilitatis*
nostre, & famulam tuam .N. scuto *proteccionis* defende / &
quam ex *gracia* tua grauidam esse voluisti, adueniente partus
tempore *graciose* ¹*Libera*, et ab omnibus *tribulacionibus*, cum
prole, *clementer* conserua / *per dominum nostrum Iesum &*
cetera /

¶ Post *communio*

Adeste, domine, supplicacionibus nostris, & famule tue
.N. munus concede, vt v[e]niente tempore pariendi, *gracie*
tue presidium suscipiat, vt cum proles humana ediderit,
percepto lauacri salutari, gloriosis incrementis *ffeliciter* *pro-*
ficiat, *per dominum Iesum Christum filium tuum. & cetera* /

¹ leaf 245 back.

Proverbs.

[The following Proverbs are in the Harleian MS 7578, and in the Fairfax MS. 17, in the Bodleian Library, are attributed to Chaucer. They have been sometimes mistakenly amalgamated with Halsham's Balade 'The worlde so wide'. These Proverbs were first printed by Stowe, in his Chaucer's Works, ed. 1561, leaf 340. Mr. Bradshaw first arranged them in couplets.]

[Shirley's MS. Addit. 16,165, lf. 246 bk.]

¶ Prouerbe.

(1)

¶ What shal þees cloþes þus many fold
Loo þis hooþe / somers day /

[Answer]

After heet / komeþe cold /
No man caste his pilchche away /

(2)

¶ Of þis worlde / þe wyde compas /
Hit wol not / in myn armes tweyne /

[Answer.]

Who so mychel wol embrace /
Lytel þer of he shal destreyne.²

¹ Copies of this are in Shirley's MS Addit. 16,165, leaf 244; Harl. 2251, leaf 23, back; Harl. 2255, leaf 14.

² grasp: see *Parlement of Foules*, stanza 49, l. 337.

[Harl. MS. 78, lf. 80^v, P ab. 1455 A.D.]

Doctrina et Consilium Galienis.

Onys a day / and twyes a day / Thryes a wook / and twyes a yeer /

Onys a day. þat Is to seyne / Charge and bidde þy wyff, If sheo may in any wysse / to go to þe chirche / þer deuowtely to here / hir masse /

Twyes a day / þat is to seyne / Affter þat þat god sendeþe to þee and hir / counseyll e hir at duwe tymes to ete and sowpe /

Thryes a wook, þat is to seyne / If so bee þat of þy manly raysoun þowe feel þy self of so noble and strong corage / with-oute þenpeyring of þy persone / þanne thryes a wooke paye þy dette / which þowe art bounden-to by þe bonde of þy mariage /

And twyes a yeer / þat is to seyn / Affter þy degree and power / so cloþe hir in pourpure or palle /

And who þat þus rulleþe his goode wyff, fayre mot him befall. Et econtra.

¹ This leaf and the three leaves following are without doubt in Shirley's handwriting, with his *eo* for *e*, etc. After the present bit of prose, follows Chaucer's *Complaint of Pitee*, with the curious unique continuation printed by Stowe, Urry, etc. Shirley seems to have thought this continuation, part of Chaucer's poem.

In the prose above, the words underlined in the MS are printed in italics. In other words, the italic letters are, as usual, expansions of contractions.

The Meaning of Marriage.

[Sloane, 1983 B, leaf 13.]

Ther was an old batchleor married to a young girle, and efter married he went to bed *with* the girle everie night for 6 months time together, never minding nor unde[r]standing what he ought to doe to his wife at night, bot fell asleep when he went to bed at night, & got up in the morning, and went abroad to his busines; and all the time understanding *that* he hadd nothing to doe *with* a wife bot for dressing his victuals, & keeping a clean house, & his back wearne all night, bot never minded the onlie & cheif thing te poor young girle vanted. so efter long times patience, or rather Impatience, the poor girle vent to the preist of the parosh, & compleaned on her housband John, and sayes, "god for-give yow, Sir, for marieing me to a man *that* understands not mariadge! therfor, pray, Sir, tell him what he ought to doe, or let us be pairted, for I can not comand natur longer; and ye vold taiken it ill to me to gon & satisfied nature the wrong vay, and mad me sit on the pillar of repentance." The preist replied *that* he vold be at her dwelling the nixt day, & speak to John; and acordingly cam, and asked John how he cam to be so unkind to his wife; who replied *that* 'non [c]ould be kinder to wife nor he was; never had he disobeyed her, or given her a froward vord.' "bot John," say the preist, "ye ar wanting in an other thing of greater consequence;" and tells *that* mariadge was ordained for procreatione of children, for satisfieing nature, & avoiding of fornicatione, *with* a great manie more arguments: bot, by all, he culd not come to understand what

he ought. So the preist says : “ poor girle, I pittie thy caise ! for this man is verie dull ; bot I think it best yow & I go to bed, & I will shew him how and what to doe.” who replyed she was willing *with* all her heart ; & to bed thé went. & the preist got on the top of her, and spok in Irish tongue (as all the rest of the forg[o]ing storie was) MUSSHO VETICH, that is to say, doe this vay. So when the preist had don what he was able to do, the poor girl was so weel pleased *with* the game, *that* she says, “ Oh : Sir, our John is verie forgetfull ! pray doe it over again !” VALE.

[On the back is written.]

scotch stor . . .

M^r Baire . . .

[Lansdowne, 197, (a MS of Wynton's Chronicle) leaf 260.]

Ane prettie Geist of ane eremeit in Italye.

Ane eremit in Italye, professing a mervellous straight lyf, and eschewing the citie, dwelt in desert, quhare he maid him self ane cave wrought by his handis *with* spaid and schoill¹, & covering the sam *with* bouchis² & erethe, lay than in his couche³ or cabine, living in *contemplat*[i]oun as on *that* vtterlie had forsakin the varld; quhare⁴-vpone he com in great cradeit *with* the pepill, and especiallie *with* the vomen of that toun; as by natour vomen ar more apt to beleif, & redier gevin to swperstitioun, nor men ar. Aftervoirdis it apperit pat this eremeitis holines vas altogether cunterfit, & he fand a verie lewid man; for it vas knaain and veill previt *that* he had the cumpanie of dyvers gentilvomen of *that* citie; and thairfoir being examenit opinlie, & grevislie rebukit, he confessit *that* he had the vse of dyvers ladyis thair. quhair-vpone a register *that* twik the not of all thair namis, being mwche grevit *vith* his flechlie behaviour, especiallie bekaus he had vsit so manye, said thus: "ah thow vyle man! is thair vther *with* quhome thow hes beine acquentit? say on, beist! and schame *the* deveill!" The puir eremit, being vonderfullie rebwkit of everie bodeye, & mervellius sorie for his folies previllie commitit and opinlie knowin, said to the register in this vayis; "SIR, seing I am chargit to say *the* truthe, and the holye mother chwrche villithe me to leiff nothing vnrehersit, *that* the rather vpone

¹ shovel.

² ? MS. bouchis = boughs.

³ ? MS. It cannot be *bouthe* = booth, bothy.

⁴ ? MS quhan.

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¹ Mr. J. P. Collier's print differs from the original in some spellings, and in leaving out a few words.

The Wyll of the Deuyll was reprinted by Richard Jones—whose date is 1581–1611 in Mr. W. Chappell's *Ballad-Catalogue*—with the addition of what Mr. Collier is pleased to call "some miserable and blasphemous doggrel." This is the Ten Commandments of the Devil that are in the *Shepherds Kalendar*, and that I extracted in my Forewords to *Captain Cox* or *Laneham's Letter*, p. lxxx-i, note 2. The title of this reprint is

"¶ The wyll of the Deuill, With his .x. detestable Commaundementes: directed to his obedient and accursed Children, and the Rewarde promised to all suche as obediently wyl endeuer themselues to fulfill them. Verye necessarie to be read and well considered of all Christians. ¶ Imprinted at London. by Richarde Johnes and are to be solde at the Southwest Dore of Paules Churche."

From a copy of Johnes's edition in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, 'Forty Copies' were reprinted by Mr. Maidment in 1828. A vellum copy is in the Grenville Library, and a paper one in the general library, in the British Museum. Mr. Collier says "the humorous reference to the tailor's many-coloured banner, composed of pieces stolen from the cloth or silk of his customers [p. 22], was most likely derived from the *Jests of Piovano Arlotto*, originally printed in 1520, and often afterwards; but it [the *Wyll's*] is the earliest notice of it in English, and from Powell's tract it may have found its way into Sir John Harington's *Epigrams*, published in 1615, and from thence into later jest-books."

my plane confessioun I may *the* sooner have obsolacioun¹: in gud fathe, master register," [said he]², "I do not remember anye vther saving *your* vyf onlye, quho vas the first & last *that* ever I have touchit senk³ I maid my grave; & thairfoir, if it pleas *you* to, put hir in *your* bwik, also *you* may baldlie do it, for seurlye sche vas verie loving vnto me." with *that*, *the* register in a greit heit staid⁴ vp, & casting his pen out of his hand, vald have beine at *the* eremit rather *than* his lyf. the pepill lawchid hartlie to sie *the* register, *that* vas so haistie befoir to charg the simpill eremit vith his vontit follies, to be in swuche sort towchit vith his vyfis default.

¹ absolution.

³ since.

² The brackets are those of the MS.

⁴ ? MS. stoid.

